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Monday, 13 December 1993
at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 25

QUESTION OF THE COMORIAN ISLAND OF MAYOTTE

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/447)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.48)

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Comoros to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.48.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros) *(interpretation from French)*: With the collapse of ideological blocs that had kept the threat of war alive over several decades, the improvement of East-West relations and the emergence of democratic forces now augur a new and promising era of peace and well-being for our respective peoples. This new dynamic gave hope to the people and Government of the Comoros for a decisive turn of the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte. We were in fact convinced that new possibilities had emerged in the relations between the Comoros and France on this question. But we must note that our General Assembly has been seized with the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte for the eighteenth consecutive year.

I should like on this occasion to express the great hope inspired in the people and Government of the Comoros by the inclusion of this item in the agenda of our debates. Indeed, it reflects the will of our Organization to contribute very actively to the search for a solution to the problem of Mayotte. This commitment also responds to the United Nations desire to comply with the principles of our Charter, especially in the context of respect for State sovereignty. We should like in this connection to express our profound appreciation to our Secretary-General and to the States Members of our Organization.

In order better to inform the delegations here, which certainly must be interested in understanding the origins of the Franco-Comorian dispute over the Comorian island of Mayotte, I should like briefly to describe the genesis of this problem.

Having established its presence on Mayotte in 1841, France proclaimed the entire Comoro Archipelago - composed of four islands: Anjouan, Grande-Comore, Mayotte and Mohéli - a French colony in 1912. The decolonization of the Archipelago - first called for in 1972 and promised in 1973 following the agreements signed on 15 June 1973 - was carried out in 1974 under the Act of 23 November of that same year. This law, in its article 1, provides that

> "the peoples of the Comoros shall be consulted as to whether they wish to choose independence or to remain within the French Republic".

To the question clearly enunciated thus: "Do you wish the Territory of the Comoros to be independent?", the Comorian people, on 22 December 1974, expressed its

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opinion by an overwhelming majority in a vote of 94.56 per cent in favour of independence.

As a result of this vote, what could the Comorian people expect if not the proclamation of the independence of the Archipelago, with respect for its unity? This unity is not a mere administrative convenience, as some would have us believe. Quite the contrary: this unity is a reality based on various elements that have shaped the common history of the four islands of the Archipelago. These elements include the same religion, the same culture, the same language and blood ties, to name but a few factors.

To return to the vote of 22 December 1974, how could the people not be shocked after that vote, when they saw France put to the vote, on 3 July 1975, another law which called into question the preceding draft law on self-determination and asked that another referendum be held on an island-by-island basis?

Faced with this attitude, which disregards the interests and fundamental rights of the Comorian people to self-determination and to national unity, in flagrant contradiction to the applicable and applied principles of decolonization, the members of the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoros unanimously proclaimed the unilateral independence of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros on 6 July 1975.

To the unpleasant surprise of the Comorian people, France recognized the independence of three of the islands, but reserved a different fate for the island of Mayotte, organizing two other referendums in Mayotte, on 8 February and 11 April 1976, which are without validity on the international level. Our Organization, in fact, reacting against this decision by France, adopted resolution 31/4 of 21 October 1976, through which it considers these referendums to be null and void.

The justification given by France for its attitude is that the population of Mayotte had expressed a majority view against independence. It should be recalled here that the law of 23 November 1974 on the organization of a referendum of self-determination in the Comoros stipulates in its article 5 that

> "while the classification of the results will be done on an island-by-island basis, the proclamation of the results will be global; moreover, the Parliament is to take a decision on how to follow up this referendum within six months."

From a legal standpoint, the French Government justifies its position by referring to the last subparagraph of article 53 of the French Constitution of 1958, according to which no territory can be ceded without the consent of the populations concerned. This, unfortunately, is backed by a decision of the Constitutional Council of December 1975. By declaring that the law on the dismemberment of the Comoros to be consistent with the Constitution, the Constitutional Council of the French Republic enshrined a concept of the law of peoples that disregards the principle of the indivisibility of colonial entities. This is an improper interpretation of the law of cession which, in any case, cannot be applied to the case of Mayotte. Article 53 was not applicable to the case of the Comoros because no territory was being ceded to a State. It was rather a case of pure and simple accession to independence.

In this way, France has called into question the sacrosanct principle of the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonization. This principle, which is also called the principle of *uti possidetis*, has become a custom of universal scope, codified by the charter on decolonization, in other words by the famous resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Paragraph 6 of that Declaration provides that

> "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

As regards these provisions, France has violated the charter on decolonization. Furthermore, it has acted in a way that runs counter to its own commitments, if we refer to the agreements of June 1973.

The successive Governments of the Comoros would very much have liked not to doubt the sincere will of France to find a solution to this painful and regrettable problem - painful when we think of the wrenching emotion of a people unjustly divided just when they least expected it, and regrettable because we know that this attack on the unity and territorial integrity of our country, which has done us great harm, of moral and other sorts, was the work of the one country the Comorian people knew the best and on which it should have been able to depend for the defence of its own interests.

It has been up to that same country since the very beginning of the dispute, and it is still up to that country, to decide to put an end to the disarray in which the Comorian people have been living for 18 years now. But what have we seen since 1975? No concrete evolution of the problem of Mayotte. And yet, different assertions by the highest authorities of France had always given us hope, confirming France's recognition of the unity of our

archipelago. Let us recall, in this connection, that in 1974, the then President of the French Republic made the following statement concerning the question of Mayotte:

> "Is it reasonable to imagine that a portion of the archipelago of the Comoros should become independent and that one island, no matter what our feelings for its inhabitants, should have a different status? I believe that one must accept contemporary realities. The Comoros are a single entity and have always been a single entity. It is natural that they should have a common destiny. We must not, on the occasion of the independence of the territory, propose to break the unity of what has always been the single archipelago of the Comoros."

In order to clarify our discussion and give the Assembly as much background information as possible on this question, may I mention other statements by French authorities, especially that of the Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories, dated 26 August 1974. He evoked the three following reasons which led the French Government to opt for a global consultation with the Comorian people on the question self-determination:

> "The first reason is legal: under international law, a Territory retains the boundaries it had as a colony. Secondly, it is inconceivable that there should be more than one status for tne various islands of the archipelago. And finally, it is not the intention of France to pit Comorian against Comorian. ...
>
> "France refuses to divide the Comoros, which share the same population, the same Islamic religion and the same economic interests".

During his visit to Moroni in June 1990 the President of France, Mr. François Mitterrand, made the following response to his Comorian counterpart, Mr. Said Mohamed Djohar:

> "We shall talk about this matter, but I believe that we must now take measures making possible constant communications and exchanges between the islands: between Mayotte and the others and between the others and Mayotte. Let there be no more barriers - theoretical, but not easily surmountable - between Comorians, for you and they are all Comorians.
>
> "Is France helping you regain your ancient solidarity? There are many forms of unity and, believe me, we are going to seek them".

We have been waiting 18 years, during which the Comorian people, peaceful by nature, have placed their trust in France and have chosen the path of dialogue.

The Comorian Government has always been, and remains, open to any solution that could put an end to the French-Comorian dispute over the Comorian island of Mayotte, in keeping with international law.

In this struggle for the reintegration of the Comorian island of Mayotte into the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, the people and the Government of the Comoros draw strength from the valued support of the international community and of international and regional organizations, which regularly consider this question and adopt resolutions reaffirming the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of Comoros over that Comorian island. That constitutes incontestable proof that our claims are just.

I cannot conclude without reaffirming our confidence in the ability of the United Nations to guarantee and safeguard the inalienable rights of all peoples, and to guarantee international stability and security, inseparable and indispensable elements for building a peaceful world. We therefore request again the good offices of the United Nations to help us find a just, speedy and legal solution to the problem of Mayotte, whose persistence harms our people's spirit and causes other damage.

The draft resolution before the Assembly is consistent with the recommendations of the United Nations. Its sole aim is to activate the negotiating process between the Comorian and French Governments so that the return of the island of Mayotte to the Comoros may take place as soon as possible. We earnestly hope the Assembly will adopt it.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): As we are all aware, one of the remarkable successes of the United Nations has been in the field of decolonization. Faithful to the Charter, and within the framework of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, resolution 1514 (XV), the United Nations has championed the right to self-determination of dependent peoples and Territories. Resolution 1514 (XV) declares that any attempt aimed at the partial or total destruction of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

In like manner, African States, by the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), have expressed their determination to safeguard and consolidate their hard-won independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity

of their States. In the resolution it adopted on this issue at the Cairo Summit this year, the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity reaffirmed its solidarity with the Comorian people in their determination to recover their political integrity and to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and appealed to the French Government to accede to the legitimate claims of the Comorian Government.

It is in that context that the Sierra Leone delegation, together with other members of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, continues to view the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte - a question that has been before the Assembly for almost 18 years now. In line with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity, the Sierra Leone delegation expresses its support for the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte.

The delegation of Sierra Leone urges the Government of France, towards which my delegation harbours feelings of friendship and esteem, to accelerate the process of negotiations with the Government of the Comoros with a view to ensuring the effective and prompt return of the island of Mayotte to the Comoros. We are convinced not only that the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Comoro archipelago will thus be respected, but also that the peace and security that prevail in the region will be preserved.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): The consideration of the question of Mayotte in the General Assembly is as old as the independence of Comoros. Ever since the passage of resolution 31/4, the Assembly has, *inter alia*, underlined the necessity of respecting the unity and territorial integrity of the Comorian archipelago and of arriving at a lasting solution to the problem of Mayotte. Similarly, the territorial integrity and unity of Comoros have also been reaffirmed in resolutions adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity.

In its latest resolution on the subject, adopted at the forty-seventh session on 27 October 1992, the Assembly once again reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte, while bearing in mind the wish expressed by the President of the French Republic to seek actively a just solution to that problem.

The same position has been reflected in the conferences of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and by the Twenty-first Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Karachi in April 1993. There have been repeated international calls and support for the early resolution of the question of Mayotte.

The outstanding issue of Mayotte is essentially linked with the question of decolonization and is therefore a matter that concerns the international community. In this context, it is pertinent to recall General Assembly resolutions 3291 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974 and 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. These resolutions clearly maintain that the granting of independence or of the right to exercise self-determination applies to colonial entities and territories under alien domination as a whole and cannot be applied selectively. This principle remains equally applicable to the Comoros archipelago.

In the view of my delegation, constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations are important for resolving differences and disputes between States. In this context, we note with a great deal of satisfaction the close contact maintained by the Secretary-General with all parties and his readiness to make available his good offices in the search for a peaceful resolution of the problem.

Pakistan enjoys traditionally friendly and cooperative ties with both France and the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros. We therefore encourage these two friendly countries to devote close attention to the early resolution of this outstanding and contentious issue.

Pakistan has been encouraged by the bilateral dialogues that have taken place between the Governments concerned at the highest level. Such dialogues, which flow from a spirit of cooperation and understanding and are built upon the foundations already laid by the relevant General Assembly resolutions, provide an important framework for the solution to the problem. This demonstration of political will must be supported by the international community at large.

The draft resolution (A/48/L.48) before us, which was so ably introduced by the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, is both moderate and balanced and reiterates the position of principle maintained by the General Assembly and other international forums. My delegation supports the draft resolution and expresses the hope that it will contribute positively to the process of negotiations and lead to an early solution of the problem on the basis of the recognized principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

In conclusion, my delegation commends the Secretary-General for his admirable efforts towards resolving this problem and requests him to continue to extend his good offices to the Organization of African Unity in the search for a negotiated settlement of the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) *(interpretation from French)*: France regrets that once again the question of the island of Mayotte, a territory under French sovereignty, is under consideration by the General Assembly. We can only oppose the draft resolution submitted on this agenda item.

None the less, my delegation listened attentively to the speakers on this item. It appears that everyone wishes to see a just and lasting solution. Indeed that is also France's position.

France has often stated its readiness to accept a solution to the question in conformity with both its national law and international law. Such a solution must also respect the will of the populations concerned. In this regard, the population of Mayotte has freely and democratically decided in favour of keeping the territory of Mayotte in the French Republic.

The climate of trust that has been established between the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros and the French Government makes it possible to hold a constructive dialogue, based on the strong ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

We are convinced that such concerted action, pursued with a lasting desire for conciliation, calm and openness, will, despite the difficulties, make it possible to move ahead in the common search for an equitable solution. France will spare no effort to this end.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.48.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, China, Comoros, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: France, Monaco

Abstaining: Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Burundi, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Micronesia (Federated States of), Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Slovakia, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 36 abstentions (resolution 48/56).*

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 25?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (*continued*) and 39

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA:

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/691)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA:

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee), issued as document A/48/657. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on item 39 be closed today at 12 noon.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names in the list of speakers as soon as possible.

I call first on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: The road to political change in South Africa has been long and arduous and marked by enormous sacrifice and suffering all along the way. With the end of the cold war, persistent international pressure, the stand-off between contending forces in South Africa, and the escalating violence and crippling human and financial costs of apartheid, it became clear to South African leaders, black and white, that the only way out was through broad-based negotiations. With the encouragement and support of Members of the United Nations and the international community, South Africans decided at long last to resolve their differences peacefully, setting, in the process, a remarkable example for other countries beset by political, ethnic and other forms of internal conflict.

Perhaps the most remarkable event in the process of peacefully negotiating an end to apartheid occurred on 18 November - less than a month ago - when the leaders of the parties participating in the multi-party negotiating process ratified the agreement on a constitution for the transition in South Africa. Together with an electoral bill and the bills adopted in October to enact a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), an Independent Broadcasting Authority, and Independent Media and Electoral Commissions, the whole transition package was in place, and all the elements will soon become fully operational. We have indeed reached the end of an era, and as Mr. Nelson Mandela has stated, "we are at the beginning of a new era."

The electoral bill provides the legal framework for the elections to be held on 27 April 1994, which will be South Africa's first non-racial, free and fair elections. Following the elections, the interim constitution will come into effect. Under the constitution for the transitional period, the national parliament will consist of a 400-member national assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation and a 90-member senate, which is to be elected by nine provincial legislatures. The national assembly will elect the president of the country. All South African voters will cast a single ballot for the party they choose to represent them in both the national assembly and the legislatures of the provinces where they reside. The new parliament will serve both as an interim parliament and as a constituent assembly mandated to draw up South Africa's permanent constitution.

A government of national unity is proposed to govern the country for five years, after which elections under the new permanent constitution will be held. Any party winning over 5 per cent of the popular vote in April 1994 will be entitled to a seat in this interim cabinet.

The agreed interim constitution abolishes the homelands and divides the country into nine provinces, each with an elected provincial assembly. These assemblies will administer education, health, police and other services at the provincial level and will elect the 10 members that will represent each province in the senate of the national assembly.

The interim constitution includes a Bill of Fundamental Human Rights which, *inter alia*, guarantees equality of race and gender; freedom of speech, assembly and movement; the right to vote; the right to fair trial; the right not to be exposed to torture and cruel or inhuman punishment; and the right of those dispossessed under apartheid to seek restitution. It also limits the president's power to declare a state of emergency.

There will also be an 11-member constitutional court appointed by the president to resolve any disputes or conflicts of interpretation of the constitution between different levels of government and to provide the ultimate guarantee that the rights of all South Africans enshrined in the constitution will be respected and protected.

On 29 January 1993 South Africa signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention on the Political Rights of Women; and the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

This encouraging development demonstrates that there is already a broad-based agreement that in a new South Africa human rights must be protected, and protected uniformly. We are convinced that early accession by South Africa to the Covenants on human rights would provide further reassurance in this regard, and could facilitate understanding and interpreting the various provisions of the Bill of Fundamental Human Rights now adopted.

These are undoubtedly positive steps in the long road to freedom in South Africa. None the less, there are reasons for caution and vigilance on the part of the international community. We know that the negotiating process has often been marred by an upsurge in political violence. There are still those in South Africa who openly threaten to derail the transition process. There are those extremists who are unwilling to abide by the rules of the democratic process. Political violence has claimed 10,000 lives in the past three years alone. South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election is barely months away. Recent studies indicate that growing numbers of South Africans participating in the electoral process are likely to be intimidated.

Operating under the supervision of the TEC, governing structures now have to shoulder without delay their full responsibilities to restrain the violence and to promote and protect the right of all South Africans to participate in the democratic process without intimidation. For peace, like freedom, is indivisible and lies beyond the contingencies of short-term politics. To contain violence in volatile areas of South Africa, much hope rests on the establishment of a multi-party peace-keeping force or arrangement.

Although a broad agreement on the principle of such a force was achieved some time ago, questions related to integration and control of such a joint force are still under negotiation.

It is necessary for the international community to welcome with satisfaction the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council as the first step in a representative Government, with persons of all races in South Africa now participating in a national governing body. This historic victory is to the credit of all South Africans and to their seasoned and dedicated leadership, both black and white. The wisdom and resilience which they have shown in the process were rightly acknowledged on 15 October this year, when the Nobel Peace Committee awarded jointly to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of their visionary leadership and outstanding role in bringing the peace process forward. The award was presented at very impressive ceremonies in Oslo, Norway, on Friday, 10 December.

Some of the credit for the positive changes in South Africa must go to the international community, which has acted over the years with a determination and a unity of purpose almost unparalleled in the history of our Organization. The issue of apartheid was first brought before the Assembly nearly four decades ago. By taking a principled stand in support of the South African people in their legitimate struggle for equality of rights and opportunities for all, without which there can be no justice or freedom, our Organization has lived up to the noble objectives of its Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights. It could be said that the Organization had, in the case of South Africa, for the first time given expression to the concept that gross and persistent violations of human rights go beyond the exclusive jurisdiction of the individual State and are a matter of legitimate concern to the international community as a whole.

Recently the decisions and activities of the Security Council, the General Assembly and of the Secretary-General have demonstrated once more the significance of the international contribution to the process of peaceful settlement in South Africa.

In a recent appearance at United Nations Headquarters, Mr. Nelson Mandela called on the international community, from this very rostrum, to end economic sanctions against South Africa. Following the recommendation of the Organization of African Unity, the Assembly decided, on 8 October, to remove all prohibitions and all restrictions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals, and decided that the oil embargo should cease to have effect as of the date the Transitional Executive Council became operational. That has now happened. Last week, on 8 December, the Transitional Executive Council held its first formal meeting. The Commonwealth, the European Union and many individual Governments and State and local authorities also responded swiftly in support of Mr. Mandela's appeal by removing bans and other restrictive measures. Many Governments have now moved to open, resume or expand their diplomatic presence in South Africa in a process of normalization facilitated

through relations with the new, non-racial and democratic structures now in place.

I believe it is time to start looking at the enormous tasks that will face the new Government of National Unity when it comes into being - hopefully, in May 1994. First among the immediate post-apartheid problems will be to begin addressing the high expectations of the majority of South Africans for a better life. It will be very difficult for the new Government to deliver at the speed and on the scale which will be expected of it. Restructuring the economy of a country is a slow and difficult process normally. It will be infinitely more difficult in a post-apartheid South Africa. The interim Government of National Unity that will emerge must be given the chance and the means to consolidate the foundations of the new non-racial constitutional order and launch the country on a path of sustained growth and of development.

South Africa, reconciled with itself, has the makings of an economic powerhouse in Africa and in the world as a whole. Members of the international community, which have done so much individually and collectively to help bring about the demise of apartheid, cannot stop halfway in their support for a new South Africa, where the stakes are enormous, not only for South Africa itself but for the southern African region and for Africa as a whole and the world at large. It is hoped that this session of the General Assembly will adopt resolutions which will facilitate the continuation of the transition and the consolidation of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa, and which will reflect the will to assist the Government of National Unity in bringing tangible change in the conditions of the majority of South Africans. There is no time to lose in starting the process of reconstruction.

Some steps have already been taken. Following Mr. Mandela's appeal at the United Nations, both he and Mr. De Klerk embarked on a worldwide tour to encourage institutional investors and corporate executives, bankers and pension-fund trustees to invest and trade in the country. A number of foreign banks, in response to a joint plea endorsed by the main political parties and groups in South Africa, have agreed to reschedule a $5 billion debt, which was due for repayment by the end of the year. The deal, which will run until the year 2001, will enable foreign creditors to convert debt into investment, using the financial rand as an additional incentive.

Who can forget that in 1985 it was the foreign banks' decision to recall short-term loans that precipitated a liquidity crisis in South Africa and planted, as a prominent Afrikaner politician put it, "a last nail in the coffin of apartheid"? Similarly, we are encouraged by reports that the parties involved in the process of negotiations have agreed on the contents of a letter of intent to accompany an application to the International Monetary Fund for an $800 million loan that will offset South Africa's export losses, caused by the drought in the region. We are also encouraged by reports that the World Bank is prepared to contribute long-term development assistance as soon as detailed projects have been worked out and studied.

We all have a stake in the outcome of the South African process of normalization. It is not unreasonable, therefore, for the international community, having supported the oppressed in South Africa for so long, to expect that their leaders will now set aside the language of ethnic divisiveness, and other forms of sterile divisiveness, which erstwhile apartheid advocates so wrong-headedly tried to promote, and that they transcend their differences and build a common future by continuing to pursue inclusive solutions through negotiations with all the parties concerned.

The culture of consultation and negotiation across all barriers that has developed in South Africa over the last three years is in fact a source of great inspiration, hope and reassurance that political leaders, representing a diversity of South Africa's people, will be able to shape the future of their country not with rifles, not with spears, but with patient dialogue, with tolerance and a rational understanding of what their interdependence means for their own longer-term interests. The international community can only supplement their efforts by supporting and by encouraging their resolve and bringing material assistance to facilitate the transition to a free and equitable society.

The time has come for the United Nations to initiate and coordinate between its offices and agencies a process of detailed planning of programmes of socio-economic assistance, particularly in the areas of human-resource development, of employment and of health and housing, and to ensure that these programmes are coordinated effectively with other international agencies and with legitimate non-racial structures within South Africa itself.

Perhaps the immediate concern to all those assembled here, and indeed the concern of most South Africans, is to see to it that free and fair elections take place next spring with an adequate presence of international observers. Following my consultations in South Africa in March this year with a broad spectrum of high-ranking representatives of major parties and civic, religious, business, labour, media and other non-governmental leaders, I suggested, *inter alia*, that the United Nations begin examining immediately the requirements as to functions and capabilities of international electoral observers in South Africa, and that consideration should be given to the fact

that, for the effective monitoring of the election process as a whole, deployment of the observers would need to begin several months in advance of the actual elections.

Now that the Transitional Executive Council has become operational and the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as the Independent Broadcasting Authority, will soon be in place, there is an urgent need for consultations with the first two of these bodies and with the Security Council with regard to the assistance that the United Nations and the international community could provide in the electoral process. I am pleased to note in this connection that the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, has already started preparations for the complex and sensitive tasks involved.

I hope that these recommendations and others contained in the report of the Special Committee will enjoy the consensus by which for the past four years the United Nations has supported the process of peaceful change and the process of eliminating apartheid in South Africa by peaceful means.

As Mr. Mandela stated in his landmark address in this Hall last September, it is important that, with the ushering in of a new era, the vast network of non-governmental organizations with which the United Nations has maintained close cooperation for decades should shift the focus of their activities to the consolidation of democratic change and to development-related activities.

Last August the Special Committee sponsored a consultative meeting with non-governmental and community-based organizations focusing on the needs of rural and township communities in South Africa and on the role of international and local non-governmental organizations in helping to meet those needs. The meeting, which took place in Geneva, was attended by some 65 participants, including a number of non-governmental and community-based organizations from South Africa taking part for the very first time.

The Special Committee also co-sponsored a historic symposium on political tolerance, which took place in Cape Town last July and was attended by prominent South African editors, journalists and other opinion-makers inside South Africa. The other sponsors were two highly respected and independent South African non-governmental organizations - the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The Special Committee is currently making preparations for a seminar in London - originally planned for this month, but now postponed to January 1994 - to provide an international perspective on policy priorities of the new South Africa in the first few years of a non-racial and democratic Government. I would be remiss in the discharge of my duties as Chairman of the Special Committee if I failed to pay tribute to the outstanding work done over the years by the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, under the inspired and wise chairmanship of Ambassador Martin Huslid of Norway, and by the Trust Fund for South Africa, under the able and enlightened chairmanship of Ambassador Peter Osvald of Sweden. Together, they have provided much needed education and training assistance to large numbers of disadvantaged South Africans and equally necessary humanitarian and legal assistance to victims of apartheid. The Special Committee appeals to the international community to continue to contribute to these assistance programmes during this period of transition.

We now stand on the threshold of a new era in South Africa. On the one hand, it is full of promise, but on the other it is fraught with uncertainty and danger. While it is the South Africans themselves who must bring the process of peaceful political change to a successful conclusion, they need the continued moral and material support of the international community, particularly at this very critical stage. Let us not forget that their goal - a non-racial, non-sexist democracy - is also the goal that the international community has unanimously agreed to support in South Africa.

It is my hope and prayer that developments in South Africa will make it possible for the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly to be the last at which this agenda item is debated in its present form. I also hope and pray that developments in South Africa will make it possible for the Special Committee against Apartheid to present a final report to the General Assembly soon after the conclusion of the first non-racial, democratic election in South Africa, in 1994, a report which can be proudly stamped "Mission accomplished".

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Rapporteur of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Suresh Kumar Goel of India, to introduce the Special Committee's report.

Mr. GOEL (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against Apartheid: I have the privilege and honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/48/22). The report, whose contents represent the consensus views of the Special Committee against Apartheid, was adopted by the Committee at a formal meeting on 3 November.

This year's report highlights not only important developments with regard to the ongoing negotiations process in the country towards the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, but also the efforts of the international community - in particular, the Special Committee - to assist and facilitate that process.

The report consists of seven chapters: Introduction; Political Developments in South Africa; Socio-economic Situation in South Africa; External Relations of South Africa; I..ternational Response to Developments in South Africa; Review of the Work of the Special Committee; and Conclusions and Recommendations. There are also two annexes.

Extensive research and gathering of material during the past 12 months went into the preparation of the report. Sources include various institutes and research organizations, periodicals and special reports on various aspects of the situation and developments in South Africa, as well as statements and press releases of the Special Committee.

The report aims to present developments regarding South Africa, with the purpose of establishing a set of conclusions and recommendations to guide the work of the Assembly and that of the Special Committee in what the Committee hopes will be the culmination of its work and the fulfilment of its mandate.

The chapter on political developments in South Africa, which begins on page 5, could be called the core chapter of the report. It highlights the multi-party negotiations and the agreements reached with regard to elections for a constituent assembly and other important transitional arrangements in South Africa. It also reflects outstanding questions and issues still to be resolved within the framework of the negotiating process, as well as efforts to include and involve the broadest spectrum of political parties and views.

These efforts - in particular, bilateral meetings of parties and formations that have not participated fully in the process - are highlighted in section C, entitled "Other political developments relating to the process of peaceful settlement". The section includes a reference, in paragraphs 38 and 39, to the call made by Mr. Mandela, at the meeting of the Special Committee on 24 September, for the lifting of economic sanctions. In paragraphs 40 and 41 there is a reference to the address by Mr. Benny Alexander, Secretary-General of the Pan Africanist Congress, to the Special Committee on 28 September.

As the report was finalized by the end of October, subsequent developments, such as agreements on the constitution for the transitional period, an electoral Bill and the actual establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December, do not figure in it. Nor, for that reason, is there any reference to the address made by Chief Buthelezi, Chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to the Special Political and Decolonization Committee on 10 November. The Chairman, however, has provided us with an update of crucial developments since that time.

The consensus decision, taken by the General Assembly on 8 October, lifting all economic sanctions is accounted for in paragraph 42, and in paragraph 43 there is a mention of the award of the Nobel Prize jointly to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk.

This is followed by subsection D of the chapter, entitled "Violence and Intimidation", and subsection E, entitled "National Peace Accord".

Chapter III, entitled "Socio-economic situation in South Africa", contains an analysis of the South African economy as well as the socio-economic issues facing the country as it embarks on a much-needed national reconstruction effort aimed at ameliorating a situation of huge disparities in the socio-economic development of different groups of people in South Africa, caused by decades of institutionalized apartheid. The chapter also covers current efforts aimed at addressing the critical needs of the various socio-economic sectors.

Chapter IV, entitled "External relations of South Africa", describes recent developments with regard to the lifting of sanctions and steps taken by various countries and intergovernmental organizations towards the normalization of diplomatic, trade, financial and other relations with South Africa. Subsection C of this chapter, entitled "Military Matters", covers defence expenditure, the import and export of arms and military equipment, other military issues and South Africa's nuclear arsenal and its dismantlement.

Chapter V, "International response to developments in South Africa", has a subsection A containing a comprehensive account of United Nations action during the period under review. This includes actions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and United Nations agencies in providing humanitarian assistance to disadvantaged sectors in South Africa. Subsection B gives an account of actions taken by intergovernmental organizations with regard to assisting the democratic process in South Africa. It highlights initiatives taken by the Organization of African Unity, the European

Community, the Commonwealth and individual Governments, as well as non-governmental organizations.

Chapter VI, "Review of the work of the Special Committee", describes in detail activities of the Special Committee during the period under review, including the Special Committee's assessment of and response to political developments in South Africa. This section reports on the mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee to South Africa from 1 to 11 March 1993 and on the Symposium on Political Tolerance held in Cape Town from 30 July to 1 August 1993. It also includes a brief description of consultations with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations which were held at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December last year and a Joint North American/European NGO Consultation held at Geneva on 30 and 31 August 1993.

Chapter VII contains the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations, the essence of which is to reiterate support for the peaceful negotiation process towards the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It also appeals to the international community to assist in promoting a stable economic environment in South Africa by providing material, financial and other assistance to South Africans, and recommends that a coordinated programme of socio-economic assistance from the United Nations and its agencies be initiated without delay. The Special Committee would continue to follow closely developments in South Africa; maintain close contacts with academic institutions and the labour, business and civic communities, including community-based and other non-governmental organizations; consult with parties in the political process, with legitimate non-racial structures and with a democratically elected non-racial Government with a view to facilitating the resumption of the participation of South Africa in the work of the General Assembly; and submit as soon as possible, following the establishment of a democratic Government, a final report to the General Assembly.

We have tried to make this year's report comprehensive so as to allow for the coverage of major political developments which mark a turning-point in the long history of the campaign against the system of apartheid. On behalf of the Special Committee and its drafting group, as well as on my own behalf, I should like to extend to the Secretariat our warm appreciation and heartfelt gratitude for the valuable cooperation it provided in the preparation of this year's report. Over the years, the continued harmonious collaboration between the Secretariat and the Special Committee has contributed to the smooth and effective implementation of the Special Committee's tasks. I should also like to thank the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for his useful guidance and contributions made during the preparation of the report.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa.

Mr. NYAKYI (Tanzania), Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: It gives me great pleasure to speak on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group in this debate, which may well be the most important in the entire history of the involvement of the United Nations in the question of South Africa.

We are witnessing the closing of one chapter of the struggle against apartheid and the opening of a new chapter of hope, peace, democracy and respect for human dignity in South Africa. Our debate today is indeed an historic event. We are convening just a few days after the inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa, which is charged with the task of ensuring that the first democratic and non-racial elections in the history of that country will be conducted in a free and fair manner. Landmark agreements have been reached between the participants in the multi-party negotiating process in South Africa, the most important being the fixing of 27 April 1994 as the date for the first democratic elections in South Africa, the establishment and commencement of the work of the Transitional Executive Council, the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Independent Media Commission, the Interim Constitution, and other measures to ensure the transformation of South Africa into a free, democratic and non-racial society.

The Intergovernmental Group considers that these achievements have brought about a profound and irreversible change in South Africa, as called for in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus during the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly. These developments are also the backdrop for the adoption on 8 October this year by the Assembly, of resolution 48/1 by which it, *inter alia*, decided to lift the oil embargo when the Transitional Executive Council became operational.

With these developments in mind, the Intergovernmental Group has decided that the time has come to recommend to the General Assembly that its mandate be terminated. We in the Intergovernmental Group have come to the end of a journey that started in this body in 1986 when Member States decided to establish our Group specifically to monitor the implementation of

the oil embargo against South Africa. The main purpose has been to assist Governments in implementing their voluntary oil embargoes or comparable policies against South Africa.

The struggle of the people of South Africa for the elimination of apartheid entered a crucial stage in the mid-1980s. As repression and oppression intensified, there were increasing calls for the international community, and particularly this Organization, to take effective measures to assist the people of South Africa in their just struggle to liberate their country from apartheid and racism. The oil embargo was one of the means of pressure to force the South African authorities to abandon their apartheid policies.

The Intergovernmental Group was established by General Assembly resolution 41/35 F of 10 November 1986. Its membership is drawn from all geographical groups in the United Nations. I am proud to state that throughout the years we have worked on the basis of consensus. We have received cooperation from many Member States. We have always emphasized that our task has not been to blame or to point an accusing finger at any Government, but to assist Governments to implement their own policies, because the oil embargo was a voluntary measure universally endorsed by all States.

However, there is no denying that the embargo has not been the success that the United Nations had hoped it would be. From the start, the Intergovernmental Group was denied the cooperation of a number of important oil-trading nations. The oil embargo was also denied the backing of the Security Council. It was obvious from very early on, therefore, that, despite the strenuous efforts exerted by the Intergovernmental Group, the embargo would not be able to deny the regime the oil supplies, the technology and the experts it needed for its oil industry.

But, as the Group has emphasized time and again, this does not mean that the embargo has had no effect on the regime. Indeed, the regime's own efforts to beat it are a clear admission of its effect on the economy. But we also have ample evidence to show that the regime secured its supplies at a heavy price. Reliable estimates suggest that the embargo added $2 billion to the oil-import bill. Illegal schemes to which the regime resorted in order to hide the identity of the sources of its oil supplies and of the ships in which they were transported added to the cost of the oil bill, as did the cost of its stockpiles and facilities and of its huge investments in the very expensive oil-from-coal industry.

External pressures, including the oil embargo, combined to compel the South African Government to sue for peace. Only when it became clear that the international community was determined to widen, tighten and intensify the pressures it had imposed on the regime until it abandoned its apartheid policies did it agree to negotiate an end to apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. That goal is close to being achieved, due to the tremendous sacrifices of the people of South Africa and the international community's support for their heroic struggle.

Last year, when I addressed the Assembly on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group, I urged Member States to walk the extra mile with us to help achieve the necessary ingredients for democratic change. I reiterated the Group's position that we would not prolong our work beyond the point necessary to accomplish our task, and that we would consider our mandate fulfilled after the people of South Africa, through the liberation movements as their genuine representatives, and other democratic forces, had determined that the changes in South Africa were profound and irreversible. We have now reached that position. The adoption on 8 October 1993 of General Assembly resolution 48/1 was an acknowledgement by the international community that a fundamental transformation is under way in South Africa and that, while obstacles on the road to the final destination remain, the Government's commitment to fundamental change can now be taken seriously.

It is therefore with a profound sense of satisfaction and achievement that we are proposing the termination of our work. We believe that the work we have done for the last seven years will help the United Nations in its future efforts to ensure the effective monitoring of sanctions and other restrictive measures.

The lifting of sanctions means that they have achieved their purpose. But while obstacles that could still derail the peace process continue to exist, the United Nations must remain engaged in the struggle for the democratic transformation of South Africa. Violence remains the most serious threat to the peace process. External monitoring, though helpful, has not sufficed to deter its perpetrators. The increased presence of external monitors, especially the United Nations, is absolutely necessary to confront the present challenge, and also in anticipation of increased violence as preparations for the first democratic elections, in April next year, get under way.

I was honoured to represent the Intergovernmental Group at the International Solidarity Conference organized by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which was held in Johannesburg in February this year. The Conference was an important demonstration of support not only for the ANC, but for all democratic forces that are

striving to pave the way for democratic transformation in South Africa. It also reflected the momentum generated by the democratic forces for the establishment of a free and democratic society in South Africa. The solidarity of the international community, along with the efforts of the people of South Africa in their struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, were clearly manifested at that Conference. The fact that a meeting in unliberated South Africa was able to attract over 650 participants from outside South Africa, over 250 of whom represented over 100 organizations, was of great significance. The meeting was a dramatic demonstration of the strength of South Africa's anti-apartheid and democratic forces, the extent of their external support, and the common determination of both to defeat apartheid. We are confident that this solidarity will be maintained and strengthened in the coming years.

Before concluding my statement, I should like to thank the members of the Intergovernmental Group for their support and cooperation. It was a pleasure for me to work with them. I also wish to put on record my deep appreciation of the contribution of the liberation movements of South Africa: the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Many Member States extended excellent cooperation to the Group by answering its queries and submitting documentation, which facilitated the task of the Group. I wish to thank them also. I should also like to express the Group's appreciation for the services of the Secretariat, without which it might not have been able to achieve its objective. Many non-governmental organizations and individuals in the human rights, legal and academic fields assisted the Group in its work, and I should like to thank them all in this final statement.

Finally, I want to extend our profound gratitude to the Shipping Research Bureau of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, for its selfless and tireless efforts to help the Intergovernmental Group achieve its goals. That non-governmental organization, more than any other organization, contributed to the success of the Intergovernmental Group. Its dedication to the cause has been total; it spared no effort in its commitment to helping the Group accomplish its mandate. Over the years it monitored the oil embargo, it accumulated expertise that I am sure will serve our Organization well in similar circumstances in the future.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Moreno Fernandez of Cuba, Rapporteur of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply on Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa.

Mr. MORENO FERNANDEZ (Cuba), Rapporteur of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa *(interpretation from Spanish)*: After the very thorough and complete statement just made by Ambassador Nyaki, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group, I can be very brief.

It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, to introduce to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly the Group's seventh and last report (A/48/93).

The report contains four chapters and four annexes.

The introduction - chapter I - recalls how the Intergovernmental Group was established and describes its mandate and its working procedures; it indicates which countries have been members of the Group since its establishment.

Chapter II refers to the activities of the Intergovernmental Group, which include the investigation of cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo against South Africa and a survey of port calls in South Africa by vessels capable of transporting oil or petroleum products. Annexes I and II list the cases of alleged violations, and annexes III and IV relate to the survey of port calls.

Chapter III of the report examines the status of the oil embargo against South Africa and also the process of negotiations under way in that country to establish a united, democratic and non-racist society.

Chapter IV of the report contains the conclusions and recommendations. In that chapter, the Intergovernmental Group endorses the decision of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to lift the oil embargo

> "after the establishment and commencement of the work of the Transitional Executive Council" *(A/48/43, para. 32)*.

It also welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 48/1, in which it was decided that the embargo should be lifted as of the date when the Transitional Executive Council became operational. Therefore, since that Council did begin its work on 7 December, the Intergovernmental Group recommends that the mandate under which it has been working since 1985 be terminated upon the adoption by the General Assembly of the report that I now have the honour of introducing.

The Intergovernmental Group, during its years of work, constantly requested the cooperation of Member States to enable it to fulfil the tasks assigned to it. On 31 August last the Group requested from certain States information on specific cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo and on port calls; that information appears in annexes II and IV to the report. Since the Group's mandate will be terminated once the report that I am introducing is adopted, the report recommends that the Secretary-General be called upon to publish the responses that Member States may wish to provide to the requests for information sent by the Intergovernmental Group. This publication might take the form of an addendum to the present report.

Lastly, and with the satisfaction of having contributed to the process of the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, I ask the General Assembly to take note of the report that I have introduced today and to endorse the recommendations it contains.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The PRESIDENT: I call next on the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, Mr. Martin Huslid of Norway, who will introduce draft resolution A/48/L.37 in the course of his statement.

Mr. HUSLID (Norway), Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: In my capacity as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), I am pleased to make an introductory statement in connection with the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.37. I noted with gratitude the kind words spoken about the Programme and about me personally by Ambassador Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in his impressive speech earlier this morning.

Turning now to the draft resolution, I have been informed that since it was printed some additional countries have indicated that they wish to sponsor it. So far, these countries are: Myanmar, Portugal and Benin. This brings the number of sponsors to 29. We are pleased that this wide range of sponsoring countries from all regional groups reflects broad support by the international community for the important work of this Programme.

I am happy to say that since its establishment in 1967, and throughout the 26 years of its existence, UNETPSA has always been a truly humanitarian programme, serving as a practical expression of the long-standing commitment of the United Nations to ensuring access to adequate education and training programmes for disadvantaged students from the Southern Africa region. During that time, UNETPSA has received more than 39,000 applications for scholarships, and more than 8,500 students have completed their studies in a broad variety of fields in more than 30 countries. The wide spectrum of training programmes offered has varied from vocational post-secondary training to post-graduate studies. The programmes have included short-term specialized training and internships as well as professional training, often in fields not readily available inside South Africa. In the 1992 to 1993 academic year, 2,553 students pursued their studies and training under the sponsorship of UNETPSA in priority fields of study that include agriculture, accounting, economics, business management, public administration, communication and information technology, education policy and planning, engineering, sciences, international relations and diplomacy, law, public health and general medicine, urban planning and development. Ninety-six per cent of the students sponsored by the Programme are from South Africa and 4 per cent are from Namibia.

During the period under review 94 Namibian students have continued their education and training under the aegis of the Programme. Since 31 December 1992, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, the Programme has stopped granting new awards to Namibian students. However, in consultation with the Namibian authorities, UNETPSA will continue to sponsor those students who came on board before that cutoff date until the completion of the courses for which awards had been granted. I am happy to note that hundreds of Namibian and South African students who received training in key disciplines have returned home and are putting their skills, training and experience to use, thereby contributing significantly to the development of their countries.

The delivery of the Programme has been very satisfactory. However, I have to say that the contributions and pledges that UNETPSA received from 1 September 1992 to 31 August 1993 have been less so. All in all, they totalled slightly more than $4 million. This represents a regrettable drop in resources of about 25 per cent, a big decrease compared with the $5.4 million received last year. However, I am pleased to report that, despite this significant decline in income, the total number of students sponsored rose to 2,553 from 2,108 last year, mostly thanks to a cost-effective allocation of resources for education and training projects within South Africa and other low-cost countries and for distance education programmes in South Africa.

Moreover, few awards for short-term specialized training and graduate studies in priority fields were made available for study in North America, Europe and Japan. These awards are made in cooperation with other educational programmes and scholarships agencies which share costs with UNETPSA and assist in the placement of graduates and trainees in suitable jobs in South Africa.

The increase in the total number of students sponsored by UNETPSA also resulted from a larger number of co-sponsoring arrangements with other educational programmes and scholarship agencies, non-governmental organizations and educational institutions, both inside South Africa and abroad.

In this connection, it gives me great pleasure to say that the Programme has developed new co-sponsorship projects inside South Africa with a number of universities and technikons, involving career-oriented training programmes that lead most of the time to professional certification and direct employment. Short-term leadership and specialized skills training programmes, teachers' upgrading, internships and distance education programmes have also been carried out during the period under review.

In the course of the past year 172 students sponsored by the Programme at traditionally black and other educational institutions in South Africa completed their studies and offered their newly acquired expertise in areas where shortages among blacks are especially pronounced.

I am pleased to report that UNETPSA will continue to give priority to providing educational and training opportunities inside South Africa and that $2.4 million has been allocated in the work plan for 1993-1994 for this purpose.

The primary goal of UNETPSA now is to contribute to human- resources development for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa. UNETPSA activities in South Africa are aimed accordingly at empowering disadvantaged South Africans to prepare themselves, through adequate and intensive education and training projects, for new roles and responsibilities in the new South Africa. Priority funding inside South Africa is directed at building up the institutional capacity of universities and non-governmental organizations, especially through the upgrading of junior staff and graduate students at the historically black and other universities and through the provision of black leadership skills training that will help in facilitating the transition to a democratic society.

One of the most immediate and appropriate concerns of the Programme during the transition is to train black lawyers and judges for the effective administration of justice in a post-apartheid South Africa, as it highlights its human rights component.

Another important goal of UNETPSA, given the urgency and the dimensions of the educational crisis in that country, is to train managers of educational change at all levels, including teachers, educators, planners, curriculum specialists and administrators for a major restructuring of the education system. During the past year a number of new awards have been instituted for the upgrading of skills of education professionals in the field of administration and governance.

Last, but not least, it should be noted that training and placement of mid- and high-level cadres in the key sectors of science and technology remain one of the main targets of UNETPSA.

Recent developments in South Africa hold promise that the formal transition to a non-racial, democratic society will be completed in the course of the next few months. However, the magnitude and urgency of the training and educational needs facing the country during the transition and beyond are enormous, as South Africa strives to overcome the legacy of decades of apartheid. The international community can make an effective contribution towards addressing those needs.

In this respect, UNETPSA looks forward to the continued cooperation and support of Governments and of intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies, with which it has worked closely for so many years. Allow me to express, on behalf of the Advisory Committee, my appreciation to those Member States, organizations and institutions which have contributed to the success of the Programme. I would like to note that, in addition to those donor countries which are mentioned in the report, Indonesia, Ireland and Malaysia have, since the printing was done, made their contributions.

As South Africa moves towards a new and democratic future, I would like to underscore the importance of the continued provision of assistance by the international community. I therefore once again ask for the support of Member States to enable UNETPSA to help meet the demand for education and training opportunities for disadvantaged South Africans in South Africa and abroad.

Before closing, I should like also to take a moment to express, on behalf of the Advisory Committee, our appreciation of the valuable support and assistance given to the Programme by the Secretary-General. Our thanks also go to Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, head of the Centre against Apartheid, and his staff, as well as to the members of the Fellowship Section. Finally, a particular expression of

appreciation should be made to the manager of the Programme, Mr. Abdennour Abrous.

The countdown towards a non-racial constitutional democracy in South Africa is well under way. "Let a new age be born", Mr. Mandela proclaimed at the end of his moving address when, together with President De Klerk, he received this year's Nobel Peace Prize at a historic event in Oslo three days ago. However, Nelson Mandela no doubt would be the first to admit that many challenges must be faced before the vision of a new South Africa can become a reality. Most prominent among these challenges is probably the need to provide sustained opportunities to enable the disadvantaged young South Africans to gain equal access to the education and skills necessary for them to better their lives and, not least, to take a full part in the development of their new democratic and non-racial society. The continued commitment of the international community is vital to help meet this challenge. It is in this spirit that I appeal to the General Assembly to vote unanimously for this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, Mr. Peter Osvald of Sweden, who will introduce draft resolution A/48/L.36 in the course of his statement.

Mr. OSVALD (Sweden), Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa: As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I am privileged to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.36 on behalf of the sponsors, to whom I express appreciation for their valued and continued support. Let me also state that Benin and China should be added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

The Trust Fund has for almost three decades provided humanitarian, legal and relief assistance to persons persecuted for their opposition to apartheid and to those who were forced into exile and to take refuge in neighbouring countries and abroad. This assistance has been made possible by the consistent support and generous contribution of Member States, which have contributed over $50 million since the Fund was established in 1965. Document A/48/523 contains an up-to-date list of contributors to the Fund. In addition, contributions have also been received this year from Malaysia, Brazil, Indonesia and Turkey.

From its inception and until 1990, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa worked through non-governmental organizations outside South Africa in order to carry out its humanitarian mandate. However, in the light of changing circumstances and positive developments in South Africa, the General Assembly mandated the Trust Fund in December 1991 to support the work of broad-based humanitarian organizations inside South Africa in the legal and humanitarian fields. The organizations that have received support from the Fund have, over the years, worked hard to assist those persecuted under discriminatory legislation in South Africa and their families. On behalf of the Trust Fund, I wish to thank these organizations for their valuable work.

In adopting the draft resolution before it, the General Assembly would endorse the report of the Secretary-General on the Trust Fund and express support for continued humanitarian, legal and educational assistance by the international community. The Assembly would furthermore acknowledge that the Trust Fund has an important role to play during the final stage of the elimination of apartheid. This would be done through continued assistance in the legal field aimed at ensuring effective implementation of legislation repealing major apartheid laws, redressing the continuing adverse effects of those laws and encouraging increased public confidence in the rule of law, while also recognizing that the time is growing nearer when South African authorities, within new, non-racial and democratic structures, will take responsibility for matters which have been within the mandate of the Trust Fund.

Against this background, I should like on behalf of the Committee of Trustees and the sponsors, to express the hope that draft resolution A/48/L.36 will be adopted without a vote.

Ms. STEWART (Canada): In December 1991, 19 parties gathered in Johannesburg for the historic opening session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). They met to negotiate a new constitutional order for South Africa, one that would end the system of apartheid that had been imposed over four decades ago. Now, two years later, after many delays, we welcome the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December. For the first time, representatives of the majority of South Africans will have a voice in shaping the decisions which affect their lives. I cannot fail to acknowledge the indispensable role of Nelson Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk, the recipients of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, in the achievement of this historic and joyous moment.

When I was a teenager, Alan Paton's moving and eloquent novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, was my first introduction, as it was for many Canadians, to the pain and terrible inequities of the apartheid system. For millions of South Africans, the creation of the Transitional Executive

Council and the upcoming elections mark the end of a long and difficult struggle to change a fundamentally unjust system of government. For millions of people outside South Africa who supported them in that struggle, apartheid became a symbol of institutionalized injustice, one in which the conditions of life were dictated by one's race. We share the joy of South Africans as they shed the legacy of apartheid.

The international community has played an important role, including in its sanctions policy, in helping to bring South Africa to this stage in its transition to multiracial democratic Government. When, at the beginning of October, transitional arrangements were passed into law, the General Assembly reacted quickly and happily with a consensus vote ending the United Nations economic and financial sanctions against South Africa. Last Tuesday, the oil embargo ended as the Transitional Executive Council came into operation. We have indeed, as Mr. Mandela said to the Special Committee against Apartheid in September, "together walked a very long road".

On 27 April 1994, South Africans will hold the first election in which all citizens of that country can participate, regardless of their colour. We must not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead in the lead-up to that election. South Africa is peopled by a majority that is not familiar with a democratic tradition, its rights and its responsibilities. South Africa today is a country which unfortunately is too familiar with violence and repression. Millions of South Africans know only a system which forbade free political expression and dealt harshly with those who challenged it. Violence continues to threaten the prospects for peaceful change, in particular from those groups in South Africa which refuse to acknowledge the need for fundamental change.

(*spoke in French*)

We in the international community therefore cannot rest on our laurels. South Africans have been through too much and come too far for the international community to lose interest or for the United Nations to stumble at this point.

My Government joins South Africans in their dismay that the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) has yet to receive the additional 40 violence monitors two full months after the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's request for them. It is unacceptable that such a necessary step in increasing UNOMSA's effectiveness is taking so long to move from intention to action.

The United Nations can and must make every reasonable effort to support the Independent Electoral Commission in its crucial task of ensuring free and fair elections. This means providing electoral expertise throughout the electoral process, in addition to continuing the important function of showing an international presence at political rallies. This also means fielding a force of polling station monitors sufficient to respond to any problems that may arise during the voting process and coordinating other international observers.

In this context, we encourage an early response to the resolution passed at the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on 7 December, calling on the United Nations and other international organizations to provide election observers, and requesting the United Nations to coordinate all international observers as defined in the Independent Electoral Commission Act. The fact that this resolution was considered and passed at the TEC's first sitting is evidence of the priority placed on the role of the international community in helping to ensure the successful conduct of the elections.

(*spoke in English*)

We trust also that all United Nations Members will respond to the task of expanding UNOMSA to incorporate its electoral role in a timely manner, not tarnishing the credibility of the Organization with time-consuming battles about principles which in reality amount to squabbles over turf and over relatively small amounts of funding.

The upcoming multi-racial election in South Africa will be an historic moment not only for all citizens of that country but for the entire international community and its struggle against the terrible wrongs of racial discrimination and oppression everywhere. Canadians are proud to have assisted South Africans in a number of ways to prepare for this event. We provided support to help South Africans develop a democratic system suited to their unique situation, including assistance in the vital area of developing a judicable bill of rights. We have also been helping to design policies for post-apartheid South Africa in priority areas such as education and public administration. This is in addition to the assistance we have provided and continue to provide both bilaterally and through multilateral organizations to train black South Africans to play a significant role in the new South Africa.

On behalf of the Government of Canada and my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I am pleased to announce today that a project has just been approved through the Canadian International Development Agency to support directly the holding of free and fair democratic elections. The funds, Can$ 2.5 million, will be used in

three ways. First, to assist with voter education programmes, in particular those targeted at rural women. Secondly, to provide technical assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission or other transitional organizations. Thirdly, to provide independent election monitors and observers. Because of the importance of this election, Canada will field its own high-level delegation of observers, headed by myself, as well as participate in United Nations and Commonwealth missions.

(*spoke in French*)

While the international community looks forward to the elections this April it would be irresponsible to hesitate until the new government is in place to see how this Organization can help address the multitude of problems left by 45 years of apartheid.

In this regard, we are heartened by the cooperation between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Republic of South Africa. We have encouraged the return of South Africa to functionally oriented international bodies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and we look forward to working with the representatives of a multi-racial South African Government here at the United Nations.

Canada urges the Transitional Executive Council's Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs to work together urgently to present requests to the United Nations and other organizations to engage in South Africa. Equally prompt responses from the United Nations development agencies are desirable. We will work with other delegations and the Secretariat to rechannel resources that have been deployed against apartheid into new directions designed to help South Africa's social and economic development.

(*spoke in English*)

The challenge now for the international community is to help South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid and build a society which preserves those basic human rights and values which apartheid denied. Canada stands ready to help in that task.

In conclusion, I would like to quote from the speeches made by this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureates last week. Mr. De Klerk reminded us that "We owe it to the children of the world to continue to work for peace". And Mr. Nelson Mandela invited us to say again and commit ourselves again with open hearts to the words of another great twentieth-century man, Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Let a new age be born".

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): My delegation is pleased to participate in the discussion of the very important agenda item entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa", which is before the General Assembly today. It is particularly gratifying to note that today, for the first time since the question of apartheid was inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly, we are discussing the end of apartheid.

This year's debate in the General Assembly is, I believe, perhaps one of the most exciting moments in the history of the people of South Africa in their quest for the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and for the peoples of the entire region in their struggle for peace and stability. Indeed, many events have taken place in South Africa since last year's debate.

On 24 September of this year, the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid, indicated that the current positive developments towards democracy in South Africa since the beginning of the negotiation process called for the lifting of all economic and diplomatic sanctions, in order to give more impetus to the process. The General Assembly responded to this appeal by lifting all sanctions against South Africa through its resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993, with immediate effect, with the exception of the oil embargo which was lifted last week on the date of the entry into operation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

My delegation has followed with great interest the evolution of the peace process in South Africa. We welcomed the resumption of the multi-party negotiations in April of this year after a long period of uncertainty. More importantly, the increase in the number of participants since the resumption of these negotiations demonstrates, in our view, the determination of the political forces in South Africa to work together in the search for a common solution to the problems at hand.

In the history of the settlement of conflicts in which there are no losers or winners, as in the case of South Africa, negotiations have proved to be the best means to achieve peace. In a period that is brief when compared to the historic duration of the conflict which has brought so much suffering to the entire southern African region, negotiations have succeeded in finding answers to fundamental questions that could not be solved by arms.

The multi-party negotiations have resulted in agreements on a number of issues whose resolution seemed unlikely, or even impossible, a few months ago. I wish to highlight, in this regard, the adoption by consensus of a set

of constitutional principles which will guide the activities of the first democratic government in South Africa. Moreover, an agreement was reached on the holding of the first non-racial democratic elections on 27 April of next year.

In this regard, my delegation urges all political forces in that country to respect the will of the South African people, so that the long-awaited dream can become a reality. We hope the participation of the majority of political parties in this democratic exercise will encourage those who have not yet been willing to start on the road to peace. This is a unique opportunity in the annals of the history of this country, which no one genuinely committed to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa can afford to miss.

On behalf of my delegation, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the entry into force of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which was also agreed upon during these negotiations. The correct functioning of the TEC will be crucial for the success of the overall peace process in South Africa and for the holding of elections in April next year. As indicated in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/48/22), the TEC has been entrusted with many and very important responsibilities.

My delegation is confident that this body will follow the spirit which guided the multi-party negotiations and will succeed in making the appropriate recommendations as soon as possible on the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission, which will oversee the first non-racial democratic elections in South Africa, and of the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which will issue broadcasting licences and monitor radio and television broadcasts prior to the elections. In addition, the TEC has a direct responsibility in the appointment of the Independent Media Commission which will ensure the impartiality of the media *vis-à-vis* all political forces. For these reasons, the Transitional Executive Council must be supported by all political forces in order to discharge its duties.

We therefore call upon all political forces in South Africa to continue to join efforts in order to ensure the irreversibility of the process.

In his address before the Assembly on 27 September 1993 President Chissano highlighted the importance of the TEC as a decisive step in the preparation of the first multi-racial elections in South Africa. He further emphasized:

> "The end of the apartheid system and the formation of a democratically elected Government will greatly contribute to peace and stability in the region, thus enhancing the prospects for even more prosperous economic cooperation within the context of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, p. 7)*

To this end, the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa should serve as a catalyst to improve economic performance and create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress, thus contributing to the well-being of the South African people and those of the region as a whole.

As is well known, the existence of economic and social imbalances resulting from a long period of inequalities has greatly contributed to the current state of tension in South Africa. The negative effects of this tension were not limited to South Africa alone. They have had negative consequences across the borders as well. As we have emphasized time and again, apartheid has never been a solely internal matter confined to South Africa, neither in its political, economic and moral dimensions, nor in its destructive consequences. For these reasons, democratization of the country must go hand in hand with similar efforts to bring economic and social benefits to the overall population - not only the South African people, but also the whole southern African region.

The road to peace and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa continues to face formidable obstacles. According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid,

> "Violence, including political and economic crime, continued at unprecedented levels, taking a high toll in human lives and destruction of property, and spreading fear and anguish throughout the country" (A/48/22, para. 45).

It is therefore crucial that violence be stopped. In this connection, my delegation calls upon all parties in South Africa to exercise maximum restraint in taking further actions that could exacerbate the already difficult situation. The recurrence of violence represents a great danger to the peace process. The increase of violence, especially following each major political breakthrough, clearly demonstrates that some forces inside the country are still opposed to changes.

Recent reports indicating that sophisticated assault weapons have been distributed by the South African

Defence Forces to local militias are even more disturbing in view of the fact that these weapons might ultimately fall into the hands of forces opposed to the country's process of democratization. It is my delegation's earnest hope that these actions will be terminated forthwith and that the South African Government will follow this issue with the seriousness it deserves.

My delegation is also disturbed at the increase of paramilitary formations, some of which are clearly opposed to the ongoing political change. Similarly, the announced unification of a large portion of these forces last September constitutes a matter of great concern. We wish to commend the ongoing negotiations aimed at addressing the fears and concerns of a number of political forces in South Africa. We especially congratulate and encourage the African National Congress of South Africa for taking these steps.

My delegation appeals to those forces which continue to reject peace to seize this opportunity to reconcile themselves with the whole South African family, thus setting aside the dark legacy of the policies of racial discrimination. We believe that fighting against history, as illustrated by the current attempts aimed at the establishment of racial political entities within the boundaries of South Africa, is not only unwise and counterproductive but, above all, a serious threat to international peace and security.

My delegation believes that peace, stability and democracy in southern Africa constitute a cherished and noble goal for all the peoples of the region. It is through these goals that we can succeed in our common endeavours for development and cooperation. Our region possesses enormous economic potential, yet to be explored. The peoples of southern Africa must be given a chance to devote their energies to the creation of conditions conducive to the well-being of present and future generations. It is therefore high time for the international community to ensure that the enemies of peace, not only in South Africa but also in Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere, be firmly denounced and exposed.

For its part, my Government will continue to contribute to efforts towards democracy and will fully abide by its commitments under the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, so as to achieve lasting peace and stability in our country and in the region.

Mr. VAJPAYEE (India): I am privileged to participate in the debate at this session of the General Assembly on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Speaking in the general debate of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, in 1978, when I had the privilege to lead the Indian delegation to the General Assembly as Foreign Minister of India, I stated:

> "The international community cannot evade its responsibility for taking effective measures to liquidate the dehumanizing practice of apartheid." (*A/33/PV.29, para. 30*)

The honour for me is therefore even greater, since this year's debate marks the emergence of a new South Africa in which apartheid will be regarded as a mere aberration of history. Undoubtedly, the international community's support of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa has made invaluable contributions towards this.

1993 marks a historic watershed in the long and turbulent political journey of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. This epic struggle has culminated this year in several far-reaching agreements, the most important of which is to hold the first non-racial elections in South Africa on 27 April 1994. Other developments, such as establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, agreements on the establishment of Independent Broadcasting, Media and Electoral Commissions, the adoption of a constitution for the transitional period, and the Electoral Bill will, I am confident, serve the highly important purpose of ensuring free and fair elections in South Africa. This will truly commence the process of establishing a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We must not forget that the process in South Africa has been made possible by the sacrifices of its brave people of all nationalities. Thousands were incarcerated in prisons for demanding their inherent political rights. Many lost their lives. We pay a tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela, who spent a major part of his life in South African prisons and has become the symbol of the aspirations of the South African people. We also pay a tribute to all those from different cross-sections of South African society - Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Mr. Makwetu, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; and various anti-apartheid movements, whose selfless sacrifices have turned the South African dream into reality.

The credit for this new vision of hope for South Africa also goes to President De Klerk. His great personal and political courage in accepting the realities of the South African situation and the valid aspirations of the South African people contributed significantly to peaceful political change in South Africa. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1993 jointly to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, and President De Klerk therefore testifies to their

work towards the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime and the laying of the foundations for a new democratic South Africa. As the Nobel Committee stated when announcing the award:

> "It is a pledge of support for the forces of good, in the hope that the advance towards equality and democracy will reach its goal in the very near future."

For India, it is a particularly proud moment. As the Assembly will recall, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, then leader of the Indian delegation, first brought the issue of apartheid in South Africa to the General Assembly in 1946, even before India had achieved its own independence. In that sense, we consider the elimination of apartheid in South Africa a vindication of our own beliefs in universal human values and their indivisibility.

In 1958 the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, speaking on apartheid in the Indian Parliament, said,

> "It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country that believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity."

The elimination of apartheid in South Africa is also, therefore, a victory for the United Nations and its ideals as enshrined in the Charter.

India and South Africa share strong bonds of history and culture. The two countries have suffered similarly ignominious experiences of colonialism and have gone through the agonies of being denied the just rights of self-government. The seeds of the philosophy of satyagraha, a movement based on the force of truth and non-violence, were sown on the soil of South Africa through the experiments of Mahatma Gandhi in Durban and Natal. The knowledge and experience gained in South Africa sustained the strength of the Indian independence movement under Gandhi. These commonly cherished ideals of truth, non-violence and respect for basic dignity and freedom for individuals constitute the anchor of the Indian Constitution and have now become the very foundation on which Indian society is being built. As Prime Minister Narasimha Rao once said,

> "Human dignity and the well-being of the individual can be guaranteed only under conditions of the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms, irrespective of colour, class, creed or birth".

The positive contributions made by the Indian people to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa are a manifestation of these ideals and our deeply held belief in the indivisibility of freedom and peace for the whole human race. Our support for the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, motivated by our ideal of *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam* - the world is a family - has been unwavering and unstinting in every respect throughout these long years. I am convinced that these shared ideals will continue to guide future cooperation between India and South Africa in all fields.

The Secretary-General, in his message on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on 11 October this year, stated,

> "The spirit of reconciliation which is beginning to prevail and the unshakeable determination of the negotiators in South Africa to succeed in their task are a source of inspiration and hope for us all. We, in turn, should give the negotiators our full support for their praiseworthy efforts in order that we may soon see a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa finally return to the international community in newly found dignity and peace." *(A/AC.115/PV.670, p. 16)*

Developments in the last few months have certainly led the international community to conclude that the process of eliminating apartheid in South Africa has now become irreversible.

My own country has responded positively to the calls made by the liberation movements of South Africa and decisions of the United Nations and the Commonwealth by removing economic sanctions and undertaking a comprehensive programme of bilateral cooperation. My Government, in response to the call by Mr. Mandela, said,

> "As South Africa moves towards elections based on universal suffrage, India looks forward to a positive expansion in our mutual relations, which have great prospects for the future."

We are confident that the beginnings of such positive relations will assist the future government of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa in undertaking effective measures and programmes for economic reconstruction. This is essential to ensure that in the new political framework, lack of economic opportunities and development do not become a stumbling-block in the way of the people of South Africa's achievement of their just aspirations of an equitable and prosperous society.

In view of the multi-ethnic and multiracial composition of the South African people, the new

democratic structures in that country would also need to ensure that all its people not only have equal rights but also are able to find equal expression for these rights. This will enable them all to contribute to the growth and development of the country without any distinction on the basis of colour, race, ethnicity or religion.

While the announcement of election dates, the adoption of the electoral law and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, *inter alia*, have made irreversible the process of transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, several problems continue to afflict South African society. We believe some of the most important of these problems to be the continuing phenomenon of violence, the need to generate and establish an environment of political tolerance and the need to find effective and durable solutions to the socio-economic inequities in South Africa that continue to plague the country as the remaining legacies of apartheid structures.

While the world can justifiably rejoice in the success of the anti-apartheid struggle, the international community, we believe, cannot relax its watch over events in South Africa. The success of the emerging South Africa will depend on two fundamental factors: a democratic and non-racial political structure, of which elections in April next year will be the first manifestation, and equitable socio-economic development in post-apartheid South Africa so that political freedom and economic opportunities can together sustain an economically and politically vibrant society in South Africa. The international community and the United Nations will need to continue to support this process.

We are shocked that political violence in South Africa continues unabated. In the first half of this year this violence resulted in over 1,000 deaths, a large number of which were in the Natal region. It is axiomatic that such violence would have an adverse effect on the conduct of free and fair elections, thus underlining the need for addressing the issue effectively before the elections next year.

Similarly, the culture of political tolerance is an inalienable component of democratic practices and procedures. It is essential that a belief in the power of the ballot should become an integral part of the political thinking of all people in South Africa. The end of apartheid should not lead to tribal or ethnic alienation in whatever form.

The glaring economic and social inequalities existing in South Africa demand urgent solution. The report of the Human Rights Commission of South Africa indicates that socio-economic factors have also contributed to the increasing levels of violence. Urgent attention to this problem will also assist the future government of the united, democratic and non-racial South Africa in its important tasks of social and economic reconstruction. Draft resolution A/48/L.29 recommends an intensive programme of international support for the South African efforts in this area even before the new government is in place. We are in full support of such efforts and hope to be able to contribute to them, within our own limited national means.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has also made the important recommendation to expand the mandate and number of the international observers in South Africa so that they can contribute to the monitoring of the elections and, before that, to the process of voter education. That recommendation merits serious consideration by the United Nations and other international organizations such as the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity.

I would be failing in my duty if, in conclusion, I did not extend words of felicitation to the Special Committee against Apartheid. Ever since its establishment in 1962, the Committee has served as the United Nations focal point for encouraging and supporting the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Through its various activities over the years, it has succeeded in mobilizing international opinion against the apartheid structures in South Africa and in generating strong international support for anti-apartheid movements with a view to achieving non-racial and democratic government in that country.

The mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee to South Africa from 1 to 11 March, which included some other members of the Committee, including India, opened a new chapter with the beginning of a dialogue with various political parties within South Africa, to make a first-hand assessment of the situation there.

In his letter to the Government of India in 1980 upon receiving the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for 1979, Mr. Mandela wrote that

> "This knowledge of shared suffering, though formidable in dimension, at the same time keeps alive in us our oneness with mankind and our own global responsibilities that accrue therefrom. It also helps to strengthen our faith and belief in our future".

We in India share Mr. Mandela's faith and belief. We also look forward to the continuing growth and strengthening of the bilateral relations between our two countries, so that this commonly shared faith and belief

can be further nurtured. It is my earnest hope, indeed my conviction, that such bonds of friendship and good relations will be to the mutual advantage of our two countries and their peoples.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 24 September 1993, I call now on the Chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki.

Mr. MBEKI (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): We would like to thank members most sincerely for allowing us once more to address the General Assembly.

This is perhaps the last time that the Assembly will discuss South Africa under the agenda item entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". Before the next session of the General Assembly is convened, elections will take place in South Africa on the basis of an interim constitution which, for the first time, will incorporate in the South African political order the various provisions contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and will grant every adult South African the right to vote.

This week, as the General Assembly debates the issue of South Africa, the South African tricameral parliament will itself begin its own discussion of that interim constitution. Within a few days, that parliament will give legal force to that historic document, which has already been approved at a plenary meeting of the multi-party negotiating forum. As the Assembly knows, the Transitional Executive Council has already begun its work. The other bodies required to prepare the country for its transition to democracy will also become operational in the immediate future.

All these developments, to which the Assembly has responded in part by lifting the sanctions it imposed against apartheid South Africa, have correctly been recognized as important victories in the international struggle against apartheid.

Since 1989, the world anti-apartheid movement has been guided in its struggle by the benchmark decisions contained in the General Assembly Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Not all the objectives spelt out in that Declaration have been achieved. One of the central objectives of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly must therefore be to complete the work in progress as defined in that Declaration. The work in progress is the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, through the holding, on 27 April next year, of free and fair elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Soon our country will experience an all-inclusive constitutional and democratic process for the first time. It will take the first step towards a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It will be a decisive step forward, but a first step nevertheless.

Because of our country's recent and current history, this advance in South Africa has seemed to assume a particular newness and an exceptional meaning within the context of the transformation of the world. Because of the place in African and world affairs that the South African experience occupies, it has seemed to be critically important that our transition to democracy should succeed, in the interest of democracy universally. It has also seemed that this transition not only should succeed but should be seen by both South Africans and the rest of the world to have been a success.

It has further seemed that this transition should contribute something real and meaningful to the struggle of the peoples of the world, against racism in particular. Furthermore, it has seemed self-evident that the victory over the system of apartheid, like the defeat of nazism almost 50 years ago, must signify a visible gain in the common effort to resist any tendency in the conduct of world affairs which, by permitting contempt for the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, leads to violent conflict, repression and war within and among nations.

To achieve the success that all these considerations demand requires of the United Nations that it remain engaged with the South African question until all the goals contained in the consensus Declaration on Apartheid of 1989 and subsequent decisions of this body have been realized.

In particular, all necessary measures must be taken to strengthen the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa and increase its capacity to help us combat the persisting scourge of political violence in our country. In the first instance, decisions that have already been taken in this regard need to be implemented without undue delay. We would, however, also like to take this opportunity to express once more our sincere appreciation for the enormous and valuable work that has been carried by the Observer Mission as well as by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Union.

We also believe that it is of critical importance that this Organization should spare no effort in its

determination to ensure that the elections of 27 April are free and fair. We are greatly encouraged by the call already made by the President of the Security Council for the acceleration of the process of planning for United Nations participation in the election process. In that context, we wish to thank the Secretary-General for his response - the sending of a needs-assessment team to South Africa.

We know that this Organization fully understands the critical importance of these elections, not only for the people of South Africa but for the world. We are also convinced that it will continue to sustain its decades-long commitment to end the system of apartheid. Accordingly, we trust that the Assembly and the Security Council will be at one with us when we say that adequate and necessary participation by United Nations election observers should be measured in thousands rather than in hundreds.

As the Assembly knows, there are some organizations and administrations in our country that have elected to remain aloof from the multi-party process of negotiations. Some of these are threatening to unleash a civil war to block the democratic transition. We are certain that this Assembly will continue to speak with one voice in calling on these elements to rejoin the forces of democratic change. It is also of great importance that this Assembly make it unequivocally clear that the peoples of the world will do nothing to legitimize or give sustenance to machinations which are intended to frustrate the final liquidation of the system of apartheid.

We, for our part, will continue to do everything we can to persuade these groups to see reason, without losing sight of the fact that the overwhelming majority of our people are determined that the transition should go forward as agreed.

We would also like to commend and express our profound appreciation for the work that has already been done within the United Nations family to prepare this Organization to help the people of South Africa further to overcome the negative social and economic consequences of the policies of apartheid. In this regard, a special word of appreciation must go to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), and to the Chairman of its Advisory Committee, Ambassador Huslid of Norway, for their invaluable assistance to thousands of needy students in southern Africa. The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa continues to play a vital role in addressing the socio-economic ills of apartheid.

We also wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania. Under extremely difficult conditions, the Intergovernmental Group performed an important task and thus made an invaluable contribution to the struggle to end apartheid. We would also like to express our profound gratitude to all the Member States that have contributed to the success of the work of these committees.

Furthermore, we are convinced that the mandate of the Special Committee against Apartheid should be extended until a democratically elected government of South Africa has been installed.

The peoples of our region, including those of Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, are relying on this Organization to play its rightful role in helping them to secure democracy, peace and prosperity for themselves. We are certain that this Organization will not fail us.

We would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate our deep desire that just and lasting solutions be found for the conflicts in Western Sahara, Liberia, Palestine and the Middle East, Somalia and Bosnia. We extend our solidarity to the peace-loving forces in these areas and countries.

The time has not yet come when we can sound the victory salute over the system of apartheid. The day has not yet dawned when we can all proclaim that all the people of South Africa have begun to govern their country.

Until that moment comes, we must acknowledge that the struggle continues, and together we must commit ourselves to continuing our united efforts towards the victory of what is and has been the cause of all humanity.

Acting thus, four months hence, we, the peoples of the world, will have a chance to say in concert that the beast is no more.

Together we will win.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

ANNEX

Changes in recorded and/or roll-call votes

Resolution 48/56

Subsequent to the voting, the delegations of Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, the Congo, Egypt, Mauritius, Morocco, the Sudan, Swaziland and Tunisia advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

77th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 13 December 1993 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3:25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 *(continued)* AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add. 1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka): At the outset, let me thank Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his statement introducing the Committee's report (A/48/22). Over the years, the Special Committee, as the United Nations body entrusted with the monitoring of developments in South Africa, has played an important role in gathering international support for the elimination of apartheid. We wish to record our deep appreciation for the work done by the Special Committee. Four years after the United Nations adopted by consensus, on 14 December 1989, the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress, made a statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid held on 24 September this year. Mr. Mandela declared that

> "the countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun. The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed and set".

The long-awaited transition to democracy from the system of apartheid has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa. We welcome the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council of South Africa, which began to function on 8 December.

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

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Some four months from now, on 27 April 1994, all the people of South Africa will join in the historic act of electing a Government of their choice. Legislation has been passed to create the institutions of State and statutory organs necessary to ensure that these elections will be free and fair.

At this crucial juncture in the transition from apartheid to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, the international community, and the United Nations in particular, must remain vigilant and actively support the process of change in South Africa through this still fragile period.

In this connection, the report (A/48/202) of the mission to South Africa undertaken by the delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid in March 1993 contains useful observations and recommendations. The mission emphasized three areas of special concern: the threat to the negotiating process posed by political violence; that one-man, one-vote elections must be seen to be free and fair; and the need to facilitate the full participation of a new South Africa in international cooperation, in particular with regard to assistance for the reconstruction of its economy.

These same points were stressed by a number of persons in their testimony before the Special Political and Decolonization Committee of the General Assembly, which Sri Lanka had the honour to chair this year.

Much of the violence has arisen from political factors. However, a large number of the crimes committed have been due to socio-economic causes and ordinary criminal practices. Political violence seems to stem from the rivalry for political control in certain areas, as well as the clandestine activities by sections of the security forces, which cannot be ruled out. The widespread possession of firearms by individuals and the smuggling of arms into South Africa are causes for concern.

The escalation of violence is related also to a deteriorating socio-economic situation. There has been a large-scale migration of rural poor into urban areas. Under-education, illiteracy and an unemployment rate of 46 per cent of the work force among the black population are aggravating factors. There is therefore an urgent need for programmes of socio-economic assistance to be put into place. Resources will have to be mobilized for the enormous task of reconstruction and rehabilitation in an equitable manner to reverse the destructive effects of apartheid and for its eventual elimination. The lifting of economic sanctions imposed by the General Assembly is a step in the right direction.

In ensuring that the elections will be free and fair, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority will have to play their specified roles. In the short period available, voter education must proceed apace. Democratic core values and political tolerance must be emphasized. The United Nations needs to consider immediately arrangements for international electoral monitors and their deployment, months in advance of the actual election.

Following the elections and the establishment of a non-racial Government, the question of South Africa's return to the international community and the resumption of its participation in the work of the General Assembly will have to be considered.

The months ahead are still fraught with difficult problems. But the spirit of tolerance and compromise displayed by those leading South Africa to a new future must be maintained at all costs. Sri Lanka expresses the hope that this spirit will continue. The awarding of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize to Mr. Nelson Mandela and President Frederik W. de Klerk for their work in laying the foundation for a new and democratic South Africa would surely have been amply justified.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that Sri Lanka will continue to support the South African people in their efforts to achieve a peaceful transition to a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. In this connection, a mission from Sri Lanka has already visited South Africa.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: At the beginning of its statement, the delegation of Egypt wishes on behalf of the presidency of the Organization of African Unity, to extend thanks and appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid and in particular to its President, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, for the efforts the Committee has deployed for several years and continues to deploy towards the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the building of a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. The delegation of Egypt should also like to express deep appreciation to the Committee for its comprehensive report (A/48/22).

The African continent as a whole is following with great interest the current important developments on the political scene in South Africa, and it hopes that the peaceful settlement efforts will achieve the necessary and aspired-to stability. It also hopes that this session might be the last time that the General Assembly holds a debate on the apartheid system.

I should like to recall, in addressing, this forum, how the African leaders who participated in the African Summit in Cairo last June welcomed the resumption of negotiations in the framework of a multi-party negotiating process and the agreement to hold the first democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994.

I should like also to highlight the determination of the countries of the continent to support all efforts aimed at establishing a non-racist, democratic and unified State through genuine and serious negotiation.

The past few years have witnessed extremely important developments, which have paved the way towards the elimination of the abhorrent apartheid policy. Those years have also witnessed a growing trend towards solving the political conflict in South Africa through peaceful negotiation.

There has been agreement also that all the parties should spare no effort in putting an end to the violence. All this has led to the setting up of a multi-party negotiating process in which a large number of parties and political groupings have participated. A number of significant agreements have been reached. This new and constructive spirit shown by the participants in the negotiations has led also to the adoption of a historic decision to establish a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) with the principal task of setting up a democratic system in South Africa and overseeing the transition to a democratic order. The creation of the TEC is of particular significance, since it represents the first time the majority of the population of South Africa has participated at the Government level in the process of self-determination to decide its future.

Nelson Mandela described the TEC as a historic step towards an interim national-unity Government that will be established following the non-racial elections. The TEC is also the proper mechanism for interaction with the international community until a new Government is created.

A number of binding constitutional principles have been adopted to guarantee the establishment of a democratic Government that will take regional diversity into consideration in the framework of a strong central Government, and the date for free elections for the Constituent Assembly has been set for April 1994.

The agreement on the transition to a new political system in South Africa is based on the principle of one-man, one-vote, and this has been achieved through the personal integrity of the two leaders, the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, and President De Klerk, both of whom have worked for reconciliation in South Africa rather than dwelling on the wounds of the past. Both have demonstrated exemplary and unique political courage and have well deserved the Nobel Peace Prize, which they were awarded in recognition of their efforts and as a symbol of the support of the early establishment of democracy and equality in a country that has suffered for so many generations from the brutality of racial discrimination, violence and intolerance.

The constructive developments on the political scene in South Africa have had a positive influence on the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). On 29 September 1993 the Ad Hoc Committee met, under the chairmanship of the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and adopted a historic resolution calling upon the African countries and the international community as a whole, and in particular the United Nations, to respond positively to the appeal made by Nelson Mandela to lift all economic sanctions imposed on South Africa in response to the historic progress achieved towards democratization in that country, in order to give the necessary impetus to the forces of democracy to continue with their work and to assist in the creation of a suitable climate for the achievement of stability and economic and social progress.

In a historic and impressive meeting on 8 October 1993 the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/1, in which it decided immediately to lift all sanctions imposed on South Africa and to halt the oil embargo as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

There is still a long way to go and the road is fraught with danger and expected violence, but there is one unalterable fact, namely that there will be no return to the apartheid system. The developments that have taken place are irreversible, and the forces of change will bring about further developments in the right direction. Violent acts may be perpetrated by the forces of reaction and more innocent people may lose their lives as a result of attacks and aggression by elements of the National Security Forces and anonymous assassins. But political violence and assassinations will not halt the forward march towards stability. Indeed, there can be no turning back.

Mr. SELOMA (Botswana): Many of us from the subregion of southern Africa never expected to witness the end of apartheid and the opening up of the floodgates of freedom in South Africa so soon. The words of Mr. Mandela in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid in September, when he said

"The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed and set",

were therefore received with great incredulity. The adoption of the draft interim Constitution and the enabling Electoral Act on 18 November 1993, pointing the way to the end of apartheid, was therefore most welcome.

The tyrannical system of white minority rule in South Africa has had catastrophic consequences for my country, one of the most democratic and peace-loving nations in southern Africa. The tranquillity that Botswana has enjoyed since its rebirth in 1966, when the country attained its independence, was daily subjected to threats from the minority white regime. The constant cross-border raids into the territory of my country cost us dearly in human lives and destroyed property. Yet, in the most peaceful manner for which Botswana is known, our nation stood firm and refused to submit to racial tyranny.

In South Africa itself we witnessed some of the most horrifying acts of human rights abuse ever committed against humanity, ranging from mass murders to torture and detention without trial. More often than not many who, at great risk to their lives, in the darkest of night, walked across the border into Botswana to seek asylum, were followed and mercilessly murdered in their sleep.

These are some of the reasons why we are so euphoric about the progress achieved so far in the negotiations for a peaceful, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The adoption three weeks ago of the interim Constitution marked a definitive beginning of the country's transition to democracy. The transition will in four months culminate in the holding of the first non-racial general elections.

The statesmanship demonstrated by the leaders of South Africa, black and white, in their tireless efforts, day and night, to bring all parties together at the negotiating table, has been proof of their commitment to a non-racial democratic future for their strife-torn country. We take pleasure in praising them for their wisdom and diligence. Above all, however, our commendations go to all the people of South Africa. The road they have travelled to get where they are today has not been easy. They faced many hurdles, but because of their strong will and commitment, they persevered. They have shown the world that together, in a spirit of cooperation and reconciliation, they can rise above political divisions and centuries-old animosities.

Notwithstanding the positive developments, one issue of serious concern to us is the endemic violence that continues to ravage many parts of the country. Thousands have lost their lives in the most horrific and unimaginable acts of violence. It is imperative at this momentous time for the South African authorities and all political leaders to redouble their efforts to stop the mayhem, for it has the potential to damage the transition to democracy.

We strongly urge those parties that have withdrawn from the negotiation process to rethink their positions for the sake of a peaceful transition and for the common good of all South Africans. Botswana appeals to the international community to urge those who are still bent on preaching the politics of race and fear to respect the will of the majority.

The economic desolation to which the majority of the people of South Africa have been subjected cannot be overemphasized. South Africa will need massive assistance for its democracy to be nurtured and sustained. We appeal to all nations to contribute generously to the enormous task of socio-economic reconstruction so that the new South Africa that is about to be born can meet the frustrated expectations of its people.

Mr. MUSUKA (Zambia): The question of apartheid in South Africa has been on the international agenda for more than four decades. Throughout that period the United Nations has been unrelenting in its ardent opposition to the spectre of apartheid, which was designated a crime against humanity. To be sure the United Nations made numerous efforts to achieve the total elimination of apartheid.

In 1989, at its sixteenth special session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution containing the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Elaborate guidelines were agreed upon, defining the parameters by which the international community would work to dismantle the system of apartheid. We are now at a stage where the provisions of that resolution have been implemented, as evidenced by recent actions of the Assembly to remove a series of sanctions and embargoes on South Africa.

Today, unlike on previous occasions, we meet to address ourselves to the elimination of apartheid under new circumstances characterized by the beginning of a countdown to democracy in South Africa. This has been made possible by the approval in South Africa of four bills that provided the basis for the peaceful transition of the country to democracy. Those bills related to the Transitional Executive Council, an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission and an independent broadcasting authority. The four bills were followed by the approval of an interim constitution containing a bill of human rights and provisions for a constitutional court, and by the setting of 27 April 1994 as

the date for the new democratic elections. These positive developments have put South Africa on the threshold of a new and democratic era.

Consequently, the Government of the Republic of Zambia warmly welcomed the signing of a new democratic constitution by the 21 political parties in South Africa on 18 November 1993, at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. The signing of a new democratic constitution marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one, representing the overdue end of 300 years of white minority rule. We therefore commend all the people of South Africa for this landmark historic agreement, which paves the way for the full participation of all the people of South Africa in choosing a Government of their choice on 27 April 1994, on the basis of one person, one vote.

We recognized from the beginning that negotiations leading to the new constitution would not be easy after so many years of mutual mistrust. We therefore pay a fitting tribute to the negotiators, who worked long and sometimes frustrating hours to make this happen. We also pay a special tribute to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and South African Government negotiating teams, to the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and to President Frederick W. De Klerk for the mature statesmanship they have displayed throughout the difficult negotiations.

Zambia, which has been in the forefront of the struggle against the system of apartheid since the attainment of independence on 24 October 1964, attaches special importance to this debate on the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is our fervent hope that this will be the last time this issue will be discussed by the General Assembly in particular, and the international community, in general.

It was in appreciation of the unfolding positive developments in South Africa, and following the appeals by Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, that the international community decided, through General Assembly resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993, to lift sanctions against South Africa, except those relating to the arms embargo and nuclear matters imposed by the Security Council. There cannot be any doubt at all that the lifting of these sanctions against South Africa will go a long way to uplifting the economic and social conditions of the hitherto oppressed, disenfranchised and disadvantaged members of the South African community, and thus address and reverse the glaring inequalities brought about by the obnoxious system of apartheid.

My delegation recognizes, however, that the vast dimensions of the problem of redressing the imbalance between the current privileged minority whites and the majority non-whites will require undivided commitment on the part of the new Government in South Africa, when it is installed, to solve that problem. In fact, there will be high expectations, especially among the blacks, who have been locked out of economic opportunities throughout the era of apartheid, for a better, dignified way of life. There is, therefore, an imperative need for the international community to assist the people of South Africa in the economic reconstruction of their country and to ensure that the new South Africa begins its existence on a firm economic and social foundation.

Today the international community is focusing its attention on the forthcoming elections, to be held on 27 April 1994 in South Africa. To this end, we support an increase in the number of international observers in South Africa as a measure of the international community's continuing commitment and determination to end apartheid. The role of international observers can hardly be overemphasized. Zambia, which gained experience in the utilization of international observers during its general elections in October 1991, which ushered in a new government, can say with confidence that international observers play a singular role in the elections in any country that chooses to welcome such observers. This is all the more true in South Africa, a country with well-defined and entrenched political and ideological beliefs - a country, might I add, where political mistrust stalks the electoral process.

It has been our experience that international observers, once they pronounce elections as free and fair, do confer legitimacy on the election results once and for all. Nowhere is this legitimacy more important and supreme than in South Africa. The deployment of international observers is in itself a confidence-building measure for all the political parties contesting an election.

International observers are also important for another reason. The majority of the people of South Africa - the blacks and other non-white minorities - will be voting for the first time in the history of their country on 27 April 1994. They will be casting their vote for democracy and equality. Many are not versed in the procedures and requirements of the electoral process, and they will need to be educated about voting. In these circumstances, we cannot see how a country like South Africa, which is so vast and complex, can be serviced by the small number of United Nations observers proposed - 500 - to accomplish this task. We urge the United Nations to send 2,000 observers for this important assignment on behalf of democracy in a united and non-racial South Africa.

The conduct of free and fair elections can take place only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in South Africa. It is therefore imperative that all South Africans begin cultivating the culture of democracy by showing political tolerance and by putting an end to the violence, which continues to exact a heavy toll in terms of human life and the destruction of property. So-called black-on-black violence, which is in fact engineered by a third force opposed to the eradication of apartheid, should be condemned.

The question of violence in South Africa is an acute and serious one. If it is not contained in these final days of apartheid, it will spill over into the post-apartheid South Africa and assume a momentum of its own, thereby manifesting itself as a destructive culture in South Africa. Its ramifications for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa would be too ghastly to contemplate, but suffice it to say it would be a major liability on nation-building in that great country.

The question of violence should therefore be addressed firmly by the South African authorities, who have the primary responsibility of governing that country in such a way as to put an end to the ongoing violence. They should protect the lives, security and property of all South Africans throughout the country. The South African Government has a governmental and moral responsibility to bring to justice those responsible for acts of violence.

My delegation also appeals to all parties to refrain from acts of violence and calls upon all the signatories to the National Peace Accord to recommit themselves to the process of peaceful change and to contribute to the achievement of the aims of the Accord. We also appeal to all parties in South Africa, including those that did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect the agreements reached during the negotiations, to recommit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections, and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only.

We appeal to all South Africans of different political beliefs and persuasions to realize that, in their path towards a new South Africa, they should all concern themselves with national reconciliation. Extreme nationalism of any kind will not help South Africa. It can only wreck that country.

Furthermore, my delegation supports the measures that the Secretary-General has taken in strengthening the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers in South Africa. We also commend the Secretary-General for deploying additional observers in South Africa to further the purposes of the National Peace Accord. Furthermore, we commend the continuing role of the observers of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union deployed in South Africa.

Although apartheid is obviously on its deathbed, we still believe that the international community should continue to exercise vigilance with respect to developments in South Africa to ensure the unimpeded establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, which should go a long way to ensuring regional peace and tranquillity in my country's region, southern Africa.

In that connection, Zambia wishes to appeal to the international community to continue assisting the current liberation movements even after they evolve into political parties. These organizations will face enormous problems as they change from one form of existence into another. We believe that just as assistance was continued to the South West Africa People's Organization in Namibia after it became a political party during the transition, the same should apply to the liberation movements in South Africa. Sudden withdrawal of financial support from political parties like the ANC would put them at a disadvantage as they prepare to assume greater responsibilities in a new South Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his lucid report, contained in document A/48/467 of 22 October 1993, entitled "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". I also commend him for his report, document A/48/524 of 26 October 1993, entitled "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa". The report outlines many positive achievements made in the educational field in preparing South African blacks for their role in the new political dispensation in South Africa.

Many thanks go also to His Excellency Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to his Committee for the excellent work they have done. We want to pay a tribute and offer unreserved thanks to the South African people for their courage, to the Organizations of African Unity, to the front-line States, to the churches and non-governmental organizations and to the international community for their continuous moral, financial and material support for the South Africans during the four decades of apartheid. Last but not least, my thanks go to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Ambassador Nyakyi.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: On Tuesday, 14 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up the following agenda items: agenda item 44, "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations", on which a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/48/L.47; agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa"; and agenda item 39, "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa".

On Tuesday, 14 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the following items: agenda item 34, "The situation in the Middle East", on which draft resolutions have been submitted in documents A/48/L.32, L.34 and L.46; agenda item 151, "United Nations initiative on opportunity and participation", on which a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/48/L.19/Rev.1; and agenda item 8, "Adoption of the agenda and organization of work", to consider a request for the reopening of the consideration of agenda item 47, submitted by Australia and contained in document A/48/749.

On Thursday, 16 September, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the reports of the First Committee.

On Friday, 17 December, in the morning, the Assembly will consider agenda item 42, "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

As concerns next week, on Monday, 20 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up the reports of the Third Committee.

With regard to the scheduling of other agenda items pending consideration by the General Assembly in plenary meeting, the remaining items will be listed in the *Journal* and will be taken up by the Assembly as the relevant documentation becomes available.

Let me take this opportunity to appeal once again to representatives to be punctual. Our practice is to wait for at least three speakers scheduled for a given meeting, but when they are late - and especially when the Hall is empty - it is difficult to begin the proceedings. As members know, the Assembly has reached the peak of its work schedule, with Committee reports coming to it for consideration and with other remaining agenda items, so we need to make better use of the time available to us.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 *(continued)* AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Less than three months ago, on 24 September, we had the privilege of hearing the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, addressing the Special Committee against Apartheid from this very rostrum on the progress in South Africa's transition.

Mr. Mandela described in vivid terms the economic legacy of apartheid, which has left millions of people in abject poverty without jobs or homes, and appealed to the international community to end the economic sanctions. He urged Governments and peoples to respond to the historic advances towards democracy and to give added impetus to this process by helping create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress.

Consequently, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the lifting of the economic sanctions, and Austria, like many other countries, has since implemented that resolution by taking the necessary national decisions.

But lifting the economic sanctions can only constitute a first step. What is needed is the persistent, active involvement of the international community in rendering economic assistance to the new South Africa. Rightly, the victims of apartheid have high expectations that the new democratic order will mean tangible economic and social advancement for them. It is the view of the Austrian delegation that an active and thriving economy will facilitate the process of peaceful transition to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Therefore, Austria will strive to contribute to creating the socio-economic underpinning for a prospering democracy, using bilateral and multilateral channels.

When Mr. Nelson Mandela spoke in this Hall, multi-party agreements on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority had been reached, and the date for general elections had been set for 27 April 1994. However, negotiations on the interim Constitution and the electoral Bill were still pending. Two months later, on 17 November, these vital issues were finally settled in a satisfactory manner.

The interim Constitution is geared to offer all parties with a sizeable following sufficient opportunity to make their voices heard and to contribute their points of view. We therefore urge those parties which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks to adhere to the principles of the interim Constitution and to take part in the democratic process as governed by the electoral Bill and in the elections.

The effective establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December is a further encouraging sign and a token for the successful completion of the democratization of South Africa. The international community must now focus its attention on assisting the country in organizing and conducting free, fair and equal elections.

Much remains to be done. Previously disenfranchised citizens have to be familiarized with democratic procedures and there must be secure access to the ballot booths for all those eligible to vote. The elections should be monitored by international observers, especially in those critical areas where neutral arbiters could enhance the trust of all parties concerned in the fairness of the democratic process. There is an urgent need to supplement the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA). Austria hopes that UNOMSA will be strengthened very soon. Aware of the lack of available United Nations staff, my Government has offered a number of qualified Austrians for this task and is also prepared to send election monitors to South Africa.

Political violence and intimidation pose an overriding threat to the election process and jeopardize the transition process in South Africa as a whole. Racial hatred and wilful killings have to be stopped. The speedy trial and conviction of two individuals for the murder of Mr. Chris Hani was a positive signal. We urge all parties to refrain from acts which could incite violence and to do their utmost to combat all forms of violence.

The coming months will be decisive for the future of South Africa. They could ring in true democracy and a South Africa at peace with itself, or they could become a period of intensified violence as some groups use all means at their disposal to derail the process of peaceful transition to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa at the very last moment. We trust that the South African voter will give a clear response to this choice.

The Nobel Peace Prize awarded jointly to President De Klerk and President Mandela symbolizes the turn of the tide from the oppressive system of apartheid to cooperation in democracy. As a Member State, Austria is proud of the contribution of the United Nations to this struggle for human dignity, human rights and democratic values over the decades.

We look forward to next year's session of the General Assembly with the participation of a delegation from a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and without a debate on the question of apartheid in South Africa. In the meantime, we will spare no effort to make sure that the promise of the future becomes reality. As Nelson Mandela said in Oslo, "Let a new age be born!"

Mr. GELBER (United States of America): This year's debate comes at a historic moment in South Africa. Over 300 years of exclusive white political domination ended earlier this month when the multi-racial Transitional Executive Council began oversight of key Government activities.

This has been a year marked by dramatic developments, developments that seemed improbable just a short time ago. The stalemate and recrimination of the past have given way to a new spirit of progress and hope for the future. That South Africa today is poised on the brink of non-racial democracy is great testimony to the courage and perseverance of the South African people and their leaders.

This year has seen both triumph and tragedy for South Africa. Multi-party talks, which resumed in April,

culminated recently with agreements on a transitional Constitution, a Bill of rights and other foundation stones of South Africa's transition to non-racial democracy. All South Africans can be proud of these achievements. In the face of considerable violence and challenges from those determined to undercut the democratic process, South African leaders pressed onward with negotiations and reached agreement on a political system that provides rights for all citizens, regardless of race, colour or gender.

In July the negotiators set South Africa's first non-racial elections for next April. Election preparations and campaigning are now under way. We call on all parties which have not yet chosen to participate to join the process. Participation will ensure a voice in the formation of South Africa's final constitution and political future. We have made clear our expectation that all parties will honour those negotiated agreements reached in the pre-election period. We will support the new South Africa in that context.

Consolidation of South Africa's democratic transformation will demand economic growth. Our support for South Africa's economic recovery is unequivocal. In September President Clinton called on American state and local Governments to repeal their economic sanctions. The response has been overwhelming. Over half have already lifted their sanctions; others will do so soon. Last month the President signed legislation enabling my Government to broaden further its support for South Africa's political and economic transition. Commerce Secretary Brown's recent trade and investment mission to South Africa is evidence of our commitment to support the transition.

These positive developments notwithstanding, tragedy struck the lives of many South Africans this year. Over 3,000 South Africans have died in criminal and political violence. The murder of African National Congress leader Chris Hani drives home the vulnerability of all South Africans to violence. We Americans also mourn the loss of one of our own to the ravages of violence in South Africa. Amy Biehl, an American Fulbright student, was brutally murdered in a township near Cape Town.

We and the international community call on all South Africans to set aside partisan differences and work together to rein in the violence. An atmosphere of fear and mistrust is contrary to the spirit of reconciliation needed for free and fair elections next April, a goal that both Chris Hani and Amy Biehl supported.

We are pleased that all South Africans have welcomed the important role played by the United Nations in South Africa. I would particularly note the important impact that the United Nations peace observers in South Africa have had. These United Nations observers, in concert with observers from the European Union, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth, have averted many violent incidents, thus contributing to peace in South Africa. We call on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) to approve, with urgency, funding for an additional 50 peace observers.

We look forward to even greater United Nations participation in South Africa's transition as the election process advances. We will support the United Nations in providing a sufficient number of observers to monitor the electoral process and to help ensure that the elections are held in as free and fair an atmosphere as possible.

I should like to call particular attention to the key role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. Under his stewardship, the Special Committee has promoted the positive climate that enabled the General Assembly to adopt by consensus this year's omnibus resolution. As in the past, Ambassador Gambari's even-handed, no-nonsense approach has been instrumental in developing a unified international view on developments in South Africa. As South Africa finally sheds its racist past and becomes a full-fledged non-racial democracy, we look forward to joining Ambassador Gambari next year in marking the end of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

This is truly a defining moment in South African history. With next April's elections, South Africa will take another step in the long march towards non-racial democracy. The United States joins the international community in celebrating that achievement.

Together we must now look to the future. A new agenda beckons. Having accomplished what we celebrate today, let us dedicate ourselves to what will define our tomorrows.

Mrs. des ILES (Trinidad and Tobago): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) that are Members of the United Nations: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Belize, the Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, the Republic of Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and my own country, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1948, when the General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which represented a milestone in the international community's pursuit of

fundamental freedoms and human dignity for all, the South African authorities of the day did not support the adoption of the text. Doubt was expressed by the then-representative of South Africa as to the

> "wisdom of a declaration which would be honoured in the breach rather than in the observance of its provisions". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Plenary Meetings, 182nd meeting, p. 910)*

The history of apartheid rule in South Africa in the ensuing decades did, indeed, reflect a total rejection of the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration.

Today, 45 years after the adoption of the Declaration, South Africa is embarking upon a new journey, one filled with high expectations and the promise of a better life, albeit tempered by some anxiety for the future. With agreement reached on the interim constitution, which provides a framework for the country's transition to a united, democratic and non-racial State, current and future leaders of South Africa are bound by the very principles of the Universal Declaration that have been recently incorporated into their laws and that must now serve as an indispensable tool of governance.

The 12 members of CARICOM welcome the steady progress in the transition process in South Africa, including the historic inauguration of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December 1993. This Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority all require the total support and cooperation of the governmental authorities, major political actors and the population at large if they are to be effective in providing fairness and equality of opportunity in the electoral process. We urge all concerned to lend their support and cooperation in the interests of peace and stability, and we encourage those who are not yet participating in the current stage of the transition process to enter the fold and to participate fully in the country's first non-racial elections, scheduled for 27 April 1994.

Acts of terrorism by organized political groups and entities, which are accompanied by the threat of possible secession from South Africa, could well destroy the civil and democratic society that most South Africans are striving to build. CARICOM States therefore support the call in draft resolution A/48/L.29 for the South African authorities to bring the perpetrators of acts of violence to justice. We also support the call for all parties and other entities to contribute towards the achievement of the aims of the 1991 National Peace Accord and for measures to be taken in pursuit of the peaceful reincorporation of the so-called homelands into South Africa.

The issue of violence remains one of critical importance to the success of the transition process. This point is not lost on those intent upon reversing the successes already achieved. Reports of the Human Rights Commission of South Africa have documented the correlation between progress in the multi-party negotiating process and an increase in incidents of violence. Regrettably, more than 600 persons were killed in the month of July 1993, following the announcement of a date for non-racial general elections, compared with a monthly average of 231 deaths during the first six months of 1993. The tragic assassination of Chris Hani of the African National Congress in April 1993 can also be seen in this light.

The reliability and trustworthiness of those entrusted to uphold the law are of the greatest importance to the political climate and to the effectiveness of the mechanisms established by the National Peace Accord and the transitional bodies approved by the Multi-party Negotiating Process. In this respect, reports of recent incidents involving police and security forces, including the August 1993 report of the distribution by the South African Defence Force of sophisticated assault weapons to white farmers, are cause for grave concern.

Furthermore, as documented in the 1993 preliminary report of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa, other human rights abuses also persist. According to the report, from January to June 1993 there were 25 deaths of persons in police custody; 90 political trials were completed during that period, with 81 still in progress by 31 July 1993; and 49 persons were identified as political prisoners who qualify for release, on the basis of criteria utilized by the Joint Scrutiny Committee established in 1992.

Given the seriousness of the incidents described in the current report (A/48/22) of the Special Committee against Apartheid concerning the police and security forces, and in view of the high level of violence, including violence of a political and economic nature, and the current human rights situation in the country, it is regrettable that the South African authorities have repeatedly rejected requests by the Ad Hoc Working Group of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to visit the country. We urge the South African authorities to take full advantage of the technical assistance and advisory services provided to States by bodies within the United Nations system in the protection and promotion of human rights. In this regard, it is noted that within the framework of the programme of

action for the proposed third decade to combat racism and racial discrimination, technical assistance for South Africa is contemplated during and after the transition period, through the United Nations Centre for Human Rights.

In recognition of the important strides made in the political process towards a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa, the worldwide anti-apartheid struggle has shifted its focus to assisting the majority population in its preparation for the impending electoral process and for life in a democratic, non-racial society. Greater attention is also being placed on addressing the critical social and economic problems confronting the nation. In this regard, the grim statistics provided in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid hint at the magnitude of the problem to be addressed. Quoting various sources, the Special Committee reports that 90 per cent of black South Africans are living below the poverty line; 46 per cent of the labour force is either unemployed or involved in the informal sector; whites in South Africa are entitled to more than double the per capita health-care expenditure; 15 to 20 per cent of blacks have electricity in their homes; and approximately 1.5 million South African families are homeless.

The States members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) applaud the efforts already under way throughout the United Nations system to assist in the tackling of some of these formidable challenges. The international community has a crucial complementary role to play in the transformation of South African society. In this regard, a constructive contribution continues to be made by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), in cooperation with observers from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union and the relevant South African structures.

The States members of the Caribbean Community fully support recent proposals by the Secretary-General to upgrade, strengthen and expand UNOMSA, including the proposed creation of a temporary post at the Assistant Secretary-General level for the Chief of Mission, and we urge all Member States also to lend their support.

With the recent termination of the oil embargo against South Africa, all economic sanctions against that country have now been lifted. The States members of the Caribbean Community take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, as well as to the relevant non-governmental organizations in this field, whose work in support of the international oil boycott was indispensable. Meanwhile, CARICOM States will continue to abide by the military sanctions until they are lifted by the Security Council.

CARICOM States welcome the decision on the multi-party negotiating forum to restore Walvis Bay to Namibia. This decision will undoubtedly lay the foundations for peace, mutual confidence and good relations between the two States, and should redound to the benefit of all in the region.

Over the years, the States of the Caribbean Community have supported steadfastly and have contributed to the best of their ability to, the international campaign against apartheid in South Africa. We now rejoice in the remarkable progress achieved in furtherance of the long-standing objectives of freedom, justice and equality in that nation. Today, the fragile process of the transition to democracy is under way. To the courageous South Africans who are truly committed to this process we wish every success. For our part, we shall continue, through the various intergovernmental institutions of which we are members, to support them in the pursuit of their noble goals.

Mr. THANARAJASINGAM (Malaysia): The irreversible process towards the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is without doubt one of the most positive and welcome developments in the post-cold-war era. The international community, including the United Nations, can take pride and satisfaction in the vital role it has played in this process.

The statement of the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, here on 24 September aptly captured this historic development. In calling on the international community to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr. Mandela recalled succinctly the anti-apartheid struggle. As he stated,

> "In the end, there was nobody of conscience who could stand by and do nothing in the search for an end to the apartheid crime against humanity".

The common and unwavering stand of the international community against apartheid complemented the valiant struggle of the victims of apartheid. In this connection, the sanctions imposed by the international community were in fact instrumental in the successful collective efforts designed to eliminate apartheid.

The perseverance and commitment of the international community in support of the struggle have been vindicated as evidenced in recent developments; and today South Africa is at the threshold of fundamental change.

Malaysia was one of the prime movers in expelling South Africa from the Commonwealth, in accordance with

our deep aversion to and abhorrence of apartheid. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, we have actively worked within the United Nations in contributing towards the anti-apartheid and what was then majority-rule struggle. Malaysia welcomes the positive developments towards the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Malaysia stands ready to work closely with the leaders of the newly emerging democratic South Africa, in tandem with the tangible efforts towards a non-racial, democratic Government.

Last week, the General Assembly had the opportunity to be formally informed by you, Mr. President, that the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa had become operational and that consequently the embargo related to the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and investment in the petroleum industry had been lifted. The next significant step clearly involves the holding of elections, scheduled for April 1994, less than five months away.

Much remains to be done within the next five months. There is a pre-eminent need to safeguard the current process so as to ensure that a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa emerges from it. In this regard, it is important that all parties be involved and committed to this process. Malaysia appeals to those who have stayed away to join the current process and to work peacefully towards the common goal of a new and united South Africa. There is a need to put an end to violence which would otherwise jeopardize the progress made to date. There are enough lessons, from both current and past tragedies, to help deter the relapse into violence and destruction.

We recognize the difficulties that prevailing circumstances in the country put in the way of a free and fair election. Undoubtedly, a sizeable international observer presence is indispensable if confidence in the process is to be assured and the people of South Africa allowed to cast their votes.

Like other delegations, we give our full support to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We agree that the United Nations needs to begin immediately an examination of the requirements as to the functions and capabilities of international electoral monitors in South Africa. Consideration should be given to the fact that if the election process as a whole is to be monitored effectively, deployment will need to begin several months in advance of the actual elections. Effective coordination with the independent Electoral Commission, with the National Peace Accord structures and with international observers who are already deployed will be essential.

At the recent Commonwealth Summit in Cyprus, it was recognized that the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (COMSA) -which has been in the country since October 1992 - had made an important and widely acknowledged contribution in the process of stemming the violence, reconciling communities, securing the return of refugees and initiating socio-economic reconstruction. The Commonwealth Heads of Government commended the work of the Mission and agreed that it should remain in South Africa until the election planned for April 1994 had been held, when the situation would be reviewed in consultation with the new, democratically elected Government.

On the same occasion the Heads of Government welcomed the decision taken jointly by the United Nations and the Commonwealth, in consultation with other donor agencies, on the convening of an international donors' conference on human resource development for post-apartheid South Africa following the establishment of an interim government of national unity. They regarded such a conference as an important forum for reviewing the human-resource-development needs of post-apartheid South Africa and as a means of securing improved coordination among donors. They stressed the need, in the context of a viable non-racial democracy, to redress the skills imbalances inherited from apartheid. Accordingly, they called on all Governments and donor agencies to support the initiative. These and other initiatives are necessary to the underpinning of the peaceful transition towards a new South Africa.

The leaders of South Africa have repeatedly underscored the need for the United Nations not only to remove sanctions but also to remain seized of the issue of South Africa. Malaysia supports this position. After all, the question of apartheid and democratic rule in South Africa has been on the United Nations agenda since the very inception of the Organization.

The international community may continue to do all it can to help to contain the violence and to advance the process of transition, but only South Africa's leaders and people, working together in a spirit of national reconciliation, can ensure lasting peace and progress. We join others in calling on all parties to contribute constructively to the transition process.

Malaysia has not only spoken out against apartheid but also continued, within its means, to help the victims of apartheid. In addition, Malaysia has encouraged economic and trade relations with South Africa, with the private

sector playing a major role. Malaysia will continue to play an active and positive role, both bilaterally and through the multilateral process - particularly through the United Nations and the Commonwealth - in attaining the goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We look forward to welcoming South Africa fully into the ranks of the international community by the time of the next General Assembly session.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union.

When the situation in South Africa was being debated by the General Assembly at this time last year, the general mood was one of gloom. However, by the beginning of this year great progress had been made towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. But the violence continued, and the negotiations slowed down.

We must pay a tribute to the South African parties, which, throughout the process of democratic transition in their country, did not lose hope, despite incidents and crises. On the contrary, they derived from the situation new energy and a sense of urgency, which facilitated the success of the negotiations.

What a distance has been travelled since the beginning of the year. Following preparatory meetings in March, the Multi-Partite Negotiating Process, involving 26 parties, was initiated on 1 April. Never until then had such representative political discussions been held in South Africa. This resumption of negotiations, within a new framework, was a decisive breakthrough. Indeed, on 2 July it was decided in the Negotiating Process that the first non-racial and democratic elections in South Africa would be held on 27 April 1994.

On 23 September the South African Parliament approved the principle of a Transitional Executive Council and three independent Commissions to prepare the political ground and ensure that the election of 27 April would be held in conditions of impartiality. The scope of the two decisions was widely acknowledged - especially by Mr. Nelson Mandela, as was made clear in his statement to the Special Committee against Apartheid, and by the General Assembly, which, following Mr. Mandela's statement, decided unanimously to lift the economic sanctions it has imposed against South Africa.

In recognition of their political courage and of the road that they had travelled, but also as an encouragement, President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which was presented in Oslo. The recipients have not dashed the hopes that were thus placed in them: the Negotiating Process resulted, on 17 November, in an agreement, which we can describe only as historic, on an interim constitution, which finally paved the way to the establishment, on 7 December, of the Transitional Executive Council and to the decision to hold elections on 27 April next.

For the first time in the history of South Africa, the black majority now has an effective involvement in the management of public affairs. For the first time, the South African people will be able, through their votes, to speak out freely and without distinction as to race or colour.

The European Union warmly welcomes the positive conclusion of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, which is a crucial stage in the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a truly democratic society.

If, as Mr. Nelson Mandela has said, the countdown in South Africa has begun, we must not delude ourselves into believing that the last stage will not be difficult and full of obstacles.

Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

First, some parties did not take part in the entire negotiation process. The European Union urges them to continue their negotiations with the signatories of the Kempton Park agreement, and to join the Transitional Executive Council and fully respect its rules and objectives. We also urge them to take part in the elections, because all South Africans must use the voting booth to express their opinions about the future of their country.

Secondly, it is imperative to put an end to the violence that is tearing the country apart. The whole world was shocked by the assassination of Chris Hani, while he was advocating a return to peace. But let us also give a particular place in our thoughts to the thousands of unknown victims of the violence. Although they are anonymous, their fate is no less tragic.

The gravity and the scope of this phenomenon of violence could prejudice the achievements of Kempton Park. This is why the Secretary-General's recommendation to increase the number of personnel in the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) must be implemented immediately. The European Union has sent to that country a mission - the European Community Observer Mission to South Africa (ECOMSA) - which, in close cooperation with the structures set up by the National

Peace Accord and in coordination with UNOMSA and other international missions, is striving to reduce the violence in South Africa. In addition, European experts are cooperating with Justice Goldstone and his Commission, whose contribution in the fight against violence we welcome.

If there is one lesson that the many peace-keeping operations organized by the United Nations have taught us, it is that in conflict situations the international community cannot take the place of the populations or peoples concerned. No matter how important, international assistance can only be a complement to the political will of those concerned to overcome their rivalries. That is why the European Union is addressing a solemn and urgent appeal to all the parties to do everything in their power to put an end to the violence, especially by strictly adhering to the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

It is important that the elections of 27 April next be a true success. Once again, the primary responsibility rests with the South African people themselves. The European Union therefore urges them to reaffirm their devotion to democratic principles, especially by ensuring that all the agreements reached within the framework of the negotiating process are respected; by settling the outstanding differences through peaceful means; by guaranteeing, during the electoral campaign, freedom for political activity and rejecting any attempt at intimidation; and by respecting the result of free and fair elections and continuing to work for the advent of a democratic culture after the elections.

But, no matter how paradoxical this may seem, it will not be enough for the elections to be free and fair: they must also be seen to be so by everyone. It is in this area that the international community will have a key role to play. We welcome the dispatch of a preparatory United Nations mission to South Africa, in accordance with the request of the Transitional Executive Council for observers of the elections.

The European Union was fully aware of the importance of the electoral process and of observing it, since it decided to make this the object of one of its first common actions. To give further support to the evolution towards democracy and majority government in the country, the European Union has set up a coordinated assistance programme for the preparation and observation of elections. This assistance will consist of giving advice, technical aid and training as well as continued support for the education of the voters, and supplying a large number of European observers within the framework of a comprehensive international effort, which should be coordinated by the United Nations. In this connection, the European Union has already established a "European electoral unit". In addition, a 5-million-Ecu voter-education programme has been approved and is already in operation. Furthermore, the European Union will continue to normalize its relations with South Africa. This is another way of supporting the evolution towards democracy in that country.

The European Union recognizes that South Africa's transition towards democracy must be strengthened by economic reconstruction and development. The European Union reiterates that it is prepared to contribute in an appropriate manner. To this end, it has set up a special programme, which is one of the largest development actions ever launched in this field. The budget of that programme for 1993 alone totals 90 million Ecus. Its main spheres of action are education and training, health, rural development and agriculture, urban renewal, the effective management of public affairs, and democratization. Finally, the European Union has launched a new project, costing more than 13 million Ecus, for housing improvements.

This is the last time, we are convinced, that the Assembly will debate the evolution of South Africa towards a democratic society, and I should therefore like to conclude by placing the elections of 27 April next in a wider framework. These elections will obviously be pivotal above all for the South African people, but they will also have an influence on the whole of southern Africa. We must hope that a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa will have privileged relations with its neighbours, for the greater development of the whole region. Finally, a successful election will be an encouraging sign for the whole of Africa, which will be strengthened in its choice of pluralism and democracy.

Such are the stakes of 27 April. The European Union is prepared to contribute to its success.

Mr. ALVAREZ (Uruguay) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The last time the delegation of Uruguay spoke in this body on the item on the elimination of apartheid, the international climate was characterized by confrontation and disarray. This worldwide polarization had an impact also on the domestic politics of South Africa, and it was a negative impact.

Today, however, we see that the profound changes we so vigorously demanded are about to take shape. All the newspapers of the world have recently featured the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President De Klerk and President Mandela. Our delegation congratulates both leaders: one, for having had the civic courage to accept the historical imperative of putting an end to the disgraced

regime and leading his Government, through peaceful negotiations, to the establishment of a democratic State subject to the rule of law; and the other, for having borne more than two decades of unjust imprisonment and yet having made a magnanimous gesture, understanding that peaceful negotiations were the only way to guarantee the creation of a government in which proportional representation would be the rule and in which the constitution and the law would constitute guarantees for the majorities that governed and the minorities that also represented large sectors of society.

The recently adopted constitutional guidelines are an appropriate framework; their adoption resulted from compromise by the parties. They carefully balanced the need for majority rule with adequate safeguards for political minorities - fortunately, we no longer need speak of minorities in the ethnic sense. We consider that these safeguards give local governments significant authority, and we urge the local political institutions and authorities and the leaders of the various groupings to give firm support to a constitution that will also contain a declaration of human rights equal to any in the world.

The international community, and the United Nations in particular, have specific obligations in this entire process. Let me mention some of them. The lifting of sanctions by resolution 48/1 must be followed by a carefully planned process of economic cooperation with the new Government of South Africa once it has been constituted. To that end, United Nations bodies committed to the fight against apartheid must start focusing on economic problems and coordinating the necessary international cooperation.

We must ensure that the April elections are an exemplary civic act; electoral assistance from the United Nations will be essential to guarantee the conduct of the elections, on the model of the elections held in Namibia and in Cambodia, two of the most successful United Nations operations ever. My delegation pledges to help the United Nations in this respect.

We wish to convey our profound appreciation to the various components of the United Nations system that have done such excellent work to support the struggle against apartheid. I must make special mention of the Centre against Apartheid, the Centre for Human Rights, the Department of Public Information, the Special Committee against Apartheid and all the bodies that function within the framework of treaties related to human rights, such as the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Commission against Apartheid in Sports.

We wish also to highlight the very effective leadership of the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid by its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari. There is no doubt that the Special Committee's activities must now focus on the completion of the transition process. We must seize every opportunity to bring about cooperation among the various political and social sectors in South Africa in close cooperation with the recently created Transitional Executive Council. The international community's determined support for that Council will make it clear that the process is irreversible.

In past years, the atmosphere of the debate on this item was different; statements were marked by the violence and the intolerance and even by despair. But things seem different today. This reminds me of a story by the South African writer Bessie Head, the story of an African who committed the sin of falling in love with a woman of another tribe, traditionally the mortal enemy of his own. But when the marriage was about to be consummated,

> "a door opened silently upon a dark, airless room, where their souls had long been confined. The winds of freedom, which had been blowing throughout the world, for all peoples, entered the room and swept through it. As the couple breathed the clear, fresh air, their humanity was awakened. They took stock of their situation, and ran out into the sunlight. Then they turned and looked back at the small, dark room, and said, 'We shall never return there.'".

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): The Assembly is considering the question of apartheid at a time of extraordinary developments envisioning the transition of South Africa from apartheid to non-racial democracy. After a 10-month-long stalemate, the resumption of negotiations last March among a broad spectrum of political parties heightened our expectations that their leaders will persevere in the endeavours to reach an agreement on the principles and modalities that will govern the country during the transition period. It is therefore gratifying to note that after a process of sustained dialogue, the Multi-Party Negotiating Council has reached an accord that will lead South Africa in the not-too-distant future towards majority rule.

For the first time, political rights will be extended to South Africans of all races and creeds, who make up the mosaic of that nation. Of particular importance in this regard is the extension of the right to vote to the disenfranchised majority, opening the way for formal role for them in running the affairs of their country and in determining its future. It balances majority rule with adequate safeguards for minority rights and thereby offers

protection to all South African citizens. It abandons the fiction of the "homelands" created by the Pretoria regime. The reincorporation of these "homelands" is now an essential prerequisite for the emergence of an undivided South Africa.

It seeks to accommodate regional diversity and heterogeneity, and it foresees the establishment of a multi-racial, multi-party transition regime to oversee preparations for the new democratic order until next spring, when an elected parliament will give final form to the new constitutional system. Thus, the interim accord is a truly remarkable and forward-looking achievement which promises to bring fundamental and profound change to South Africa.

We are therefore heartened to see that South Africa has finally begun the arduous path of breaking away from institutionalized discrimination and moving towards an egalitarian society. From repealing the pass laws and the influx control regulations to abolishing discriminatory laws and releasing political prisoners, from the lifting of economic sanctions to a possible termination of the oil embargo, South Africa has come a long way from its international isolation. It is in many ways a fitting tribute to the realism, statesmanship and spirit of compromise shown by the leaders of South Africa in rising above their past differences and seeking an amicable political settlement. We remain hopeful that they will preserve the gains achieved so far and move towards a new constitutional and political order.

In this context, my delegation would like to commend Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. F. W. de Klerk for their determination and untiring efforts in bringing political change, for which they richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize.

While these developments augur well for an orderly end to minority rule, the situation in South Africa continues to be fragile and hence fraught with unforeseen potential consequences. We are acutely conscious of the challenges posed to peaceful transition by extremist and reactionary forces, which threaten to disrupt and derail the ongoing peace process. It is, moreover, regrettable to note that rampant violence in the townships has continued unabated and is being exploited by those who are bent upon fomenting unrest in the country. Such desperate attempts to perpetuate an apartheid system that has already claimed countless lives and trampled on majority rights must not be allowed to succeed. The reservations of "homeland" leaders concerning reunion with South Africa constitute yet another destabilizing factor.

A heavy responsibility therefore rests on the Government of South Africa in ensuring not only the maintenance of law and order but also the reintegration of the homelands into South Africa.

My delegation is also deeply disturbed to note the continuing differences among the political parties concerning the constitutional principles and other issues that should govern post-apartheid South Africa. However, at this critical stage in the struggle against apartheid the dedicated efforts of all the leaders of that country would be even more essential in maintaining the unity and commonality of interests of the liberation movements and democratic forces in order to move decisively and quickly in overcoming the remaining obstacles on the way to a unified society. Any reversal of the ongoing process of a negotiated settlement would have profoundly negative repercussions not only for South Africa but for the rest of the continent of Africa and beyond. Hence, there can be no turning back in the peace process.

As the era of apartheid draws to a close, it is pertinent to recall that Indonesia has long been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. The historic Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955 was the first international gathering to accord recognition to the liberation movements in South Africa. In subsequent years Indonesia has strongly condemned the racist regime's acts of discrimination and repression, supported the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and underscored its unswerving unity and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Non-Aligned Movement, since its inception, has also called for the dismantling of institutionalized racism and denounced apartheid. We are proud of the contributions made by the Movement and gratified at the prospects for an early end to apartheid.

Despite the obstacles yet to be overcome, a historic compromise has been reached that should constitute the beginnings of an irreversible process of dismantling apartheid. It is equally important to ensure that socio-economic inequities will not undermine the dynamics of political change during the transition period and beyond. We remain confident that progress on constitutional and political issues will be reflected in the economic domain as well and that the process of democratization will be accompanied by concerted efforts to ameliorate the most urgent needs of the majority.

For more than four decades the United Nations has been seized of the question of human dignity and human rights in South Africa. Undeniably, the consideration of this item has made an invaluable contribution to mobilizing

world public opinion for the cause of justice and equality. It was this forum that also set the guiding principles for the elimination of apartheid that will ultimately lead to the establishment of a united, non-racial South Africa. At this crucial juncture the Organization should reaffirm its strong support for the ongoing peace process and thereby expedite the democratic transformation in South Africa. We remain convinced that reconciliation and democratization will prevail and that political, economic and social justice for the people of South Africa will become a reality.

Mr. van BOHEMEN (New Zealand): New Zealand notes with much satisfaction that the Multi-Party Negotiating Process in South Africa has made major progress over the past year. All participants in that process deserve congratulations on their achievements and encouragement and support from the international community in the long and difficult tasks that lie ahead. Mr. Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk, the Nobel Peace Prize laureates, deserve particular praise for the roles they have played as individuals in the process.

This Organization has been unequivocal in its condemnation of apartheid in all its manifestations. Now it can stand ready to welcome South Africa back fully into the fellowship of nations, the task of eradicating formal apartheid virtually accomplished.

The statutory bases of apartheid have gone, but after more than three centuries of a political culture whose tradition could not, or would not, accommodate democratic multi-racialism, we are conscious that South Africa's transformation will not be accomplished without further effort and further sacrifice. We must consider how best this Organization can assist in the creation of the new South Africa. We must now develop new approaches to meet a new situation that will realize our hope for a non-racial and democratic future for South Africa.

A development of decisive importance this year was the agreement by the negotiating parties that 27 April 1994 will be the date for the Republic's first-ever democratic, nationwide elections. Another was the approval in the South African Parliament in September of this year of the Transitional Executive Council Bill. New Zealand believes that those developments establish irreversible and positive social and political change in South Africa. They herald the ultimate elimination of apartheid.

We are convinced, however, that time is still of the essence. There is urgency in the task of finding new approaches to assist the process. The living conditions of South Africa's underprivileged majority have improved little since the bankruptcy of apartheid - socially, politically and economically - was acknowledged by the privileged minority. The black majority remains severely disadvantaged in such crucial areas as housing, health and education. The dispossessed remain dispossessed. Unemployment is rife. Legitimate expectations are not being met.

Moreover, the political process has suffered damage from the withdrawal of a number of important parties from the negotiations. Residual opposition to democratic change on the part of a minority of right-wing extremists is another consequence of the legacy of apartheid. Positive social and political change is irreversible, but it is in a fragile condition at this time. We urge all South Africans to put the good of the country as a whole ahead of sectional interests.

We must also note the escalation in political violence. Those who would exploit for narrow and unachievable ends the propensity for violence in a population so needful of relief from its suffering must think again and accept the inevitability of change. In this regard New Zealand continues to give full support to Security Council resolution 772 (1992) of 14 August 1992 and the subsequent deployments of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, along with Missions of the Commonwealth and other international organizations. We have actively participated in Commonwealth missions and are considering a further contribution. Indeed, it is clear that in the lead-up to the elections next April the problem of violence will require special attention. Again, we would state our view that it is incumbent upon all parties in South Africa, now more than ever, to exercise restraint and to abide by the terms of the National Peace Accord of September 1991.

With regard to the election process, New Zealand is well aware that major and urgent efforts must be made to ensure the practical political enfranchisement of South Africa's black majority. Effective programmes in voter registration and education are needed. We are ready to support the United Nations, as well as the Commonwealth and other international organizations, in such efforts.

All this touches on the question of new approaches to the situation developing in South Africa. The sanctions process has now almost run its successful course. With the coming into operation last week of the Transitional Executive Council, the embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products authorized by the Assembly has come to an end. New Zealand has been a member of the Intergovernmental Group that has monitored the embargo since its inception. We are pleased that its work has been brought to a successful conclusion.

In lifting these economic measures, New Zealand and other Commonwealth Governments endorsed appeals by President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela for foreign investment in, and increased trade with, South Africa. We believe that new commercial links will assist in overcoming the social and economic legacy of apartheid.

Similarly, the unification of sport in South Africa should become a vehicle, in its own right, of national unity. New Zealand continues to follow the Commonwealth approach to sporting contacts with South Africa, which, in the case of the still large number of sporting bodies yet to be fully cleared for international competition, relies on the interim approval of the non-racial governing bodies of sport in South Africa. We urge the administrators and participants in all South African sporting bodies to complete the process of racial unification promptly and with due attention to the interests of so many South Africans hitherto disadvantaged by apartheid in their chosen sports. We look with much hope to the impetus that will be provided in this regard by the new government of national unity following the elections next April.

In the immediate future, New Zealand will consider ways of increasing educational assistance to black South Africans, ways that focus on the Republic's immediate administrative and developmental needs. Since 1988 we have provided Nelson Mandela scholarships. Initially, these were largely confined to long-term academic courses. Now we shall look also at shorter-term practical skills development and training assistance in South Africa, as well as in New Zealand. In the Commonwealth setting we support the priority given by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation to its programme of development activities designed to strengthen National Peace Accord structures. This approach places emphasis on technical assistance and training that will promote improved police-community relations in support of the new institutions intended to facilitate the transition to non-racial democracy.

This Organization and the international community at large have a duty to assist in building a new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Ultimately, however, only South Africa's leaders, working with each other and putting aside past differences, can bury once and for all the legacy of apartheid. New Zealand believes, despite the fragility of the present situation, that there now exist in South Africa the political will, the good sense and the courage required to achieve the transformation. We hope soon to welcome South Africa at last to its proper place in the community of nations. We wish all South Africans well in this crucial endeavour.

Mrs. JAGAN (Guyana): The representative of Trinidad and Tobago has spoken on behalf of the 12 member countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and Guyana entirely associates itself with her statement. However, given Guyana's special role heretofore in the struggle and the utmost importance we have always attached to the question of apartheid, we considered it opposite to add our own national dimension to the debate.

At the political level, since the 1950s, the present governing party has given positive and consistent support to the anti-apartheid struggles of the African National Congress. Furthermore, for almost two decades Guyana maintained a presence in the southern African subregion, on the very front line of the struggle. Staff there were not always entirely immune to the consequences of aggressive activity designed to perpetuate apartheid.

The Guyana Government, too, saw fit to make its own small contribution to the struggle by offering academic training to future black leaders at our local institutions of learning by cementing relationships with liberation movements, by making financial contributions and by generally offering moral support. Guyana has also been a member of a select group of countries mandated to keep the question of apartheid under constant surveillance or scrutiny. In addition, non-governmental organizations in Guyana have given support locally and at conferences called by the relevant United Nations committees.

We feel great pride as South Africa enters the home stretch on the way to majority rule. The pillars of apartheid and other trappings of the iniquitous system are all being removed. The Multi-party Negotiating Process in South Africa has been completed. Agreement has been reached on an interim constitution and an electoral bill. Elections are scheduled to be held on 27 April 1994. New vistas are before us, with the imminent integration of South Africa with the rest of Africa and, indeed, with the wider international community.

Regrettably, the ugly spectre of violence still haunts the political scene. Amnesty International, in its chilling publication entitled "Getting away with Murder: Political Killings and 'Disappearances' in the 1990s", records that

> "since 1990, when the process began, some 10,000 South Africans have been killed as a consequence of the actions of the security forces or, more frequently, as a consequence of the actions of armed groups acting with their acquiescence".

The report lays the blame for the deaths at the feet of the central command structure; hence the significance of my

Government's public call, most recently on the occasion of Chris Hani's assassination, for President De Klerk and the Government of South Africa to take steps to deter those forces, which appeared

> "bent on undermining the peace process and keeping alive the system of apartheid".

It is regrettable, too, that some groups have removed themselves from current political developments. Guyana is entirely supportive of the Security Council's urging

> "all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to re-commit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only". *(S/26785)*

We are pleased to see the foregoing reflected in operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/48/L.29, and we underscore the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly are united in their desire to see South Africa through to its desired and just objective. The international community could have desired no less on an issue that so inflamed public opinion and topped the agendas of many bodies, including the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and CARICOM, to name a few.

Guyana unreservedly joins the calls for assistance in the academic and cultural fields, as stated in operative paragraph 14, and for assistance to non-racial sports bodies in operative paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/48/L.29, and offers assistance in these areas within the confines of our limited resources.

We fully support the call for vigilance even as the process enters its final phase. We are ever conscious that we must maintain our focus on the goal of the 27 April 1994 elections and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. Hence the continued relevance of the Special Committee against Apartheid and our support for draft resolution A/48/L.30 on its programme of work.

Within the context of General Assembly resolution 48/1 of 8 October 1993 on the lifting of economic and trade sanctions against South Africa, Guyana, in compliance therewith, shall presently remove the legislative impediments to those types of activities.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with joy and great expectations that we speak to the General Assembly on the question of the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. I say "joy" because everyone is well aware of the giant and irreversible strides that have been taken towards resolving a problem whose ethical dimension made it a central issue for the international community; and I say "great expectations" because, though much has been achieved, much remains to be done before we achieve the goal that has been set.

The progress I allude to has taken the form of concrete agreements and the implementation of machinery designed to guarantee a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. That progress has already been recognized by the international community, which has taken concrete action in response to it.

Towards the end of last year, the process of peaceful settlement of the question, it should be recalled, had bogged down, and it was only resumed in April of this year with the initiation of the Multi-party Negotiating Process. These negotiations, which brought together 26 political parties, were a landmark because of their degree of representativity and because the frequent acts of violence and intimidation which took place never led to their being interrupted. From these negotiations, there emerged several important agreements that will transform the history of South Africa.

Among other things, the first democratic and non-racial elections were agreed upon and scheduled for 27 April 1994. A provisional constitution and an electoral law were also agreed upon. At the same time, an agreement was reached to establish a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), charged with supervising preparations for a democratic system and the transition towards that system. It is of course a matter of regret that over the past few months certain important political parties have been suspended from participation in the Multi-party Negotiating Process. We sincerely hope that all the political forces in South Africa will work together and will refrain from creating situations that would in any way favour those who are still opposed to the ongoing process of democratization.

The subsequent enactment of these agreements into law by the acting Parliament, in addition to the Transitional Executive Council's assumption of its duties on 7 December, suggest that the goal pursued by the General Assembly no less than 37 years ago, when it began, with great concern, to consider the racial policies of South Africa, is now within the realm of possibility. Fresh and fervent hopes now seem well founded.

The international community has recognized and responded to all these achievements. Many of the restrictive measures which were imposed on South Africa have been progressively removed, in particular those regarding trade, sports and cultural activities. This trend was clearly recognized when the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/1 on 8 October last, which lifted all economic sanctions against South Africa immediately, with the exception of the oil embargo to be lifted on the date when the Transitional Executive Council assumed its duties for the transitional period. The arms embargo imposed by the Security Council is the only sanction which remains in effect.

International recognition of this process has also taken the form of the well-deserved 1993 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Frederik de Klerk, the third Nobel Peace Prize to be awarded to those fighting against racial discrimination in South Africa. I would like to join in the congratulations which my Government has extended to the award winners. The people of Argentina feel that the award was fully justified, for it rewards the efforts, tenacity and remarkable intelligence that both men have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate in the search for a final political and institutional settlement for the great South African nation.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm that the positive evolution of the peace process has produced, much more is still expected. Much remains to be done, as we have already said, and though the outlook is promising, no one can overlook the fact that those who are opposed to democracy in South Africa will miss no opportunity to obstruct the final outcome, which now seems inevitable. That is why the international community must not cease its efforts in support of the process and must continue to give it all necessary assistance.

We applaud the recent decision of the Security Council to invite the Secretary-General to accelerate the planning of the function of the United Nations in the electoral process. We also agree with the Security Council's decision to raise the total number of observers in the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) to 100, in order to strengthen security and stability in the country during the transitional period.

I would also like to point out that there has been close cooperation between UNOMSA and the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the European Community and the Commonwealth, as they carry out their mandates in South Africa.

At the same time, I would like to point out that the urgent economic and social situation in South Africa is also a source of major concern to us. There is no doubt that the situation can be successfully dealt with only by a responsible, representative and legitimate government.

My Government follows developments in South Africa with special interest because we are firmly committed to the eradication of apartheid, because we want to see South Africa become a full-fledged member of the international community and, finally, because we share with that country an important geographic space: the South Atlantic. The Republic of Argentina reiterates its commitment to help achieve our common objectives, particularly after 1 January 1994, when our country will become a member of the Security Council for a term of two years. As a member of the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic, the Republic of Argentina is convinced that the emergence of a new South Africa will make it possible speedily to bring the southern part of the African continent into the zone of peace and cooperation.

The ultimate responsibility for achieving success during this final stage of the process of democratization rests with the people of South Africa. Hence we hope that all the parties involved will abide strictly by the agreements entered into, that they will not stray from the democratic principles on which they are based and that they will participate in the coming elections and resolve pending matters by peaceful means. We also hope that very soon we shall be able to join the people and the leaders of South Africa in welcoming the successful transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial nation, thus overcoming a lengthy crisis the tremendous moral gravity of which had earned the condemnation of the international community.

For all those reasons, we are hopeful that South Africa will be able, in fairness and impartiality to overcome its long nightmare. With that hope, we renew our commitment.

Mr. CLAUDIO (Philippines): The countdown to democracy has begun in South Africa. The stage has been set for democracy with the recent completion of the Multi-party Negotiating Process. Despite the threats and boycotts, despite the terrible cycle of violence which afflicts the land and people, the tireless South African negotiators, both black and white, have laboured into the night, overcome serious obstacles and demonstrated to the world that it is possible for erstwhile adversaries with widely differing views and beliefs to reach landmark agreements through compromise, reasoned debate and negotiations.

The Philippines salutes the people of South Africa for finalizing a new transitional constitution, which signals that

indeed the South Africans are beginning to forge a new nation. Its adoption gives a clear direction to the destiny of the nation, emerging from the darkness of the odious apartheid system.

We are heartened that with the adoption of other important documents, such as the Electoral Bill, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has simultaneously commenced its work of overseeing the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa. We fully appreciate the necessary function of the TEC to level the political field and to oversee and ensure free and fair elections to the constituent assembly. In this regard, we cite the important role in the forthcoming national elections of the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which are products of the Multi-party Negotiating Process.

The Philippines therefore eagerly anticipates the exercise of the first universal suffrage in South Africa: the national elections on 27 April 1994. We share the exhilaration of the disenfranchised South Africans who have suffered from the viciousness of the apartheid system at casting their first vote and setting the course for the country's future. At the same time, we will remember that their liberation has been dearly paid for by thousands before them who have been killed and massacred because of the colour of their skin.

The Philippines is also extremely pleased by the decision to award the 1993 Nobel Prize for Peace to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC) and President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa. It is indeed a well-deserved tribute to the two statesmen who had the vision and the determination to work towards the reconciliation of the South African peoples. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Roberto R. Romulo, has stated that the momentous distinction bestowed upon the two leaders should serve as further inspiration for the people of the world to continue to support efforts at achieving a democratic and non-racial government in South Africa.

At this important juncture we urge all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect the agreements reached during the difficult negotiations and to recommit themselves to democratic principles. We encourage them to participate in the elections and to resolve their differences through peaceful means. The Philippines is deeply concerned over the wave of violence engulfing South Africa. The comprehensive report of the Special Committee against Apartheid notes that

> "Violence, including political and economic crime, continued at unprecedented levels, taking a high toll in human lives and destruction of property, and spreading fear and anguish throughout the country." *(A/48/22, para. 45)*

In this regard we call again upon the signatories to the National Peace Accord to implement fully and effectively the provisions of the Accord and to refrain from further acts of violence.

In this connection the Philippines commends the work being done by the Secretary-General and the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) in assisting the process of democratic change in South Africa and in enhancing the capacity of South Africans to build for peace and political tolerance.

We urge the Secretary-General to accelerate the contingency planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process since we expect that the United Nations will be requested to render such assistance. We support the recommendation for an immediate expansion of the mandate and numbers of observers necessary to enable them to assume the role of international election monitors in South Africa in close coordination with the Independent Electoral Commission.

The Philippines is keenly aware of the enormous problems facing South Africa's transition to democracy. The socio-economic disparities in the society created by the apartheid system particularly in the areas of health, housing, education and human resource development must be addressed in a comprehensive manner. We therefore welcome the General Assembly's lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa in its resolution 48/1. For its part, the Philippines has taken the appropriate measures to lift the restrictions and prohibitions which the Philippine Government had earlier imposed on its economic relations with South Africa.

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Philippines remained steadfastly on the side of the oppressed and disenfranchised South Africans during the darkest days of the apartheid system. The Philippines stands ready to assist, encourage and cheer the South Africans in their noble quest to transform their society into a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

A new South Africa is beckoning. We call on all South Africans of all colours to respond to the challenge of the new future to work and heal together. As a reward, they will bequeath to their children and their children's children, peace, freedom, justice and equal opportunity for

all. They will finally bridge the bitter chasm that separated and divided them because of the colour of their skin.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 24 September 1993, I now call upon the Secretary-General of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. ALEXANDER (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): Allow me at the outset, on behalf of the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Clarence Mlamli Makewetu, to thank the General Assembly for allowing us to address it during its debate on agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa".

This occasion is very important because it may be the last time a political leader of a liberation movement from Azania, as our country was originally called, addresses the General Assembly. It is therefore meet that I thank the Assembly for remaining seized of the obnoxious and inhuman system of apartheid over the long years.

It was the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) that first brought the matter of the inhuman nature of apartheid to the attention of this world body, following the brutal murder of over 60 African people on 21 March 1960, when they peacefully marched in protest against the pass laws that controlled their lives, movement and access to jobs in their motherland. Following that appeal by the PAC, not only was racist South Africa deprived of its seat in this and other bodies, but apartheid was declared a crime against humanity. The United Nations decided to observe annually 21 March, commonly known as Sharpeville Day. We thank the Assembly for its regular commemoration of that Day.

On Sharpeville Day in 1960 the oppressed people in Azania lost their fear of the enemy's prisons and stood bravely against the system. The international community united for the first time in support of our just and noble cause, namely, the liberation of mankind from colonial apartheid.

Following the brutal murder of school children by the Pretoria regime on 16 June 1976, we again brought this matter before the United Nations and again the Organization condemned the regime and thenceforth observed 16 June every year as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Azania). The United Nations had by then created the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid in order to remain seized of our problem on a sustained and ongoing basis.

The annual observance of 9 August and 11 October as days of solidarity with the struggle of women and with political prisoners respectively has kept the international community conscious of the inhuman system in occupied Azania. Even as we address the Assembly today, the United Nations has deployed observers to monitor and report on the ongoing violence in our country, upon our request. We welcome the recent decision by the Security Council to enlarge and strengthen that mission.

We wish to thank the General Assembly, on behalf of the oppressed, exploited and socially degraded - but struggling - Azanian masses, for all the noble assistance and cooperation it has rendered to the liberation movements over the past three decades. Its contribution to our struggle is priceless, and we will always remember it.

We thank the Special Committee on decolonization for its tireless efforts and its contribution to the decolonization not only of Azania, but also of all other colonized countries in the world.

The talks which are continuing in the Negotiating Council have resulted in some positive developments - that much we acknowledge. However, the PAC urges the international community not to treat these positive developments as an end in themselves. The creation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-council is a means to an end. The TEC started operating on 7 December 1993. The duty of the TEC is to level the political playing field in the run-up to elections. The political playing field is being levelled effectively in areas such as the supervision of elections, and the financing and control of State-owned electronic media: radio and television. The PAC is ready to participate effectively in the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

It was agreed in the Negotiating Council that a joint fund under the Independent Electoral Commission should be established, to which individual States should directly contribute to enable the parties to participate effectively in the forthcoming elections in Azania. We urge Member States to comply with that request.

There will be 8,000 voting stations set up around the country; that should be considered when the international community decides on the number of election monitors to be sent to Azania to ensure that the forthcoming elections are free and fair.

The PAC is not part of the Transitional Executive Council, for reasons which I will explain to the Assembly. The TEC Act places control over the South African

security forces solely in the hands of the white minority and reduces the African majority to mere advisers on deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF). We are given no say on training, recruitment, structuring, sales and acquisition of weaponry, control over the arsenal of weaponry, manning of key posts in the Defence Force, and so forth. Moreover, the TEC has no jurisdiction over the navy and the air force. The result is that the paramilitary Internal Stability Unit and the Askaris continue to murder, maim and massacre our people. Today, the African community in our country is in an uproar over this. Murder bands such as the Buffalo Battalions 31 and 32, *Koevoet* and the Civil Co-operation Bureau have not been verifiably disbanded under international supervision.

Based on conclusive evidence, Justice Goldstone revealed last week what we already knew, namely, that the South African security forces trained the killers who commit the ongoing massacres in Natal. A summit of black political, religious and other leaders held in Azania two weeks ago decided that the violence was a well-orchestrated campaign by the regime. The South African regime is primarily responsible for the ongoing violence. Without effective control over the security forces we have no control over the agents of murder, and the elections will hence remain in jeopardy.

Furthermore, the regime continues to treat the Security Council's mandatory arms embargo with contempt. In this regard we must warn Member States that the PAC is not obliged to honour delivery or make refunds to any country with regard to any agreement on the sale of weapons entered into with the illegitimate regime in violation of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

The TEC has failed to level the political playing field; in that regard the regime and its violence machinery continue operations of mayhem against our people. The TEC has failed in its stated mission and will remain discredited until the South African security forces are brought under effective joint control. The PAC is currently involved in bilateral discussions with the regime in order to solve the problem of joint control of the security forces, in order to eliminate, or diminish, the problems the violence is causing in the run-up to elections.

Another threat to elections is the right wing. The seriousness of the right wing's threat to elections is not confined to its refusal to commit itself to participation in the forthcoming elections; it extends to the right wing's control over the 140,000-strong armed commando units, which are twice the size of the South African Defence Force. Furthermore, Mr. De Klerk refuses to act against or disarm these commando units. Mr. De Klerk prefers to use the threat they pose as a negotiating tactic in order to elicit compromises from the liberation movements.

The Negotiating Council, under unjustifiable and undue influence by majority "homeland" puppet leaders who have no support and by the tricameral parliament parties based on a constitution which has been declared null and void by the United Nations, has adopted a package of agreements that will set conditions for the forthcoming elections and the transitional government. The transitional government will govern the country according to a transitional constitution drafted by the Negotiating Council. The main purpose of the transitional government is to govern during transition and to form a constituent assembly that will draft a new and final democratic constitution. We are concerned that the transitional government will continue to govern the country after a democratic constitution is finalized, and until the end of the century. We see no reason for this.

According to the package of agreements, the executive cabinet of the country after the elections will be nominated on the basis of power- and portfolio-sharing, resulting in a constitutionally entrenched coalition Government. The special majority required for the executive cabinet to take a decision effectively places the executive under minority vetoes and constitutionalizes a lame-duck government in which the majority party have responsibility but no real power. This is not only a classic example of neo-colonialism, but it is dangerous and leads to uncertainty, ineffective rule and entrenched conflict potential.

We are not opposed in principle to a unity government including small parties on a voluntary basis, but we do not equate this with constitutionally entrenched minority veto power, as proposed in the interim constitution which is expected to be passed in the South African Parliament this week.

The PAC will take part in the elections on 27 April 1994, but we will seek a mandate from the masses to overturn all the power-sharing provisions of the interim constitution. We will dissolve the interim government as soon as a new democratic constitution has been adopted by the Constituent Assembly. This position is in accordance with the position we maintained at the Negotiating Council, in accordance with good sense and in accordance with the wishes of the Azanian masses.

The Negotiating Council acceded to our demand that a final constitution be drafted only by elected and mandated representatives of the people in an elected Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly, however, will be bound by prior agreed- upon principles,

and a new court, to be known as the Constitutional Court, will have the power to declare the new constitution invalid if it deviates from the so-called principles. This too is totally unacceptable to the PAC. Our contention is that the elections will determine the will and mandate of the people and that this cannot be subject to the proscribing whims of undemocratic élitist committees. In the election campaign we will seek a mandate from the people to overturn those provisions in the transitional constitution which seek to fetter the Constituent Assembly. We will establish an unfettered sovereign, elected Constituent Assembly to draft a new democratic constitution solely on the basis of the will of the people.

In conclusion, we call on the United Nations and individual Member States to assist the liberation movement to play its role in rebuilding that country and also to round up its effective functions at the United Nations upon conclusion of the elections, and, further, to assist it in the relocation of its personnel and equipment to Azania.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.